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The apostolicity of
Trinitarianism



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THE
APOSTOLICITY
OF
TRINITARIANISM:
OR, THE
TESTIMONY OF HISTORY,
TO THE
POSITIVE ANTIQUITY, AND TO THE APOSTOLICAL INCULCATION,
OF THE
DOCTRINE
OF THE
HOLY TRINITY.

BY
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Opto, cum Melancthone et Ecclesia Anglicana, per canalem Antiquitatis deduci ad nos dogmata fidei e fonte Sacrae Scripturae derivata. Alioquin, quis futurus est novandi finis?—CASAUB. *Epist.* 774.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. G. & F. RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD,
AND WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL.

1832.

LONDON:
GILBERT & RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
St. John's Square.



TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND

WILLIAM VAN MILDERT, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

MY LORD,

You will perhaps agree with me in thinking, that one of the most satisfactory and least objectionable modes of ascertaining and establishing theological truth is by the careful adduction of concurrent historical testimony.

However clear in themselves may be the declarations of Holy Scripture respecting all the great leading articles of our faith : yet it cannot be dissembled, that, as very widely different interpretations have been put upon various passages in the Bible, so likewise we have sometimes been even required to admit sundry doctrines or opinions not a vestige of which can be discovered in the inspired word of God.

Under such circumstances, it seems obvious to institute an historical inquiry into the nature of those tenets, which the primitive Church, under the distinct aspect of their exhibiting the real mind of Scripture because they were known and acknowledged to have been delivered by the express teaching of the Apostles to all the various ecclesiastical successions, unanimously professed to hold from the very beginning.

This inquiry, if honestly conducted, must, I think, instinctively approve itself to every upright reasoner. For the principle, upon which it goes, is so plain, that it can scarcely be misapprehended even by the meanest understanding: while yet, at the same time, it is so forcible, as to command the assent of the highest intellect.

Unless all moral certainty be banished from the world, what the primitive Church, with one consent, professed to have received from the Apostles, could not but have been taught to the primitive Church *by* the Apostles: and, what was taught to the primitive Church *by* the Apostles, could not but have set forth the *real* mind of that inspired volume, the whole second portion of which was written either by the Apostles themselves or by

individuals under their immediate inspection and superintendence.

In like manner, on the other hand, if, in the primitive Church, we find no traces, either of certain expositions of Holy Scripture itself, or of certain doctrines and opinions which assuredly can be nowhere found in the Bible; we may be morally sure, that no such expositions or doctrines were ever delivered by the Apostles: and, if no such expositions or doctrines were ever delivered by the Apostles or were ever received by the primitive Church; we may be morally sure, that they were the mere human inventions of a later age, and consequently that they carry with them not a shadow of binding authority.

On this basis, I need not remind your lordship, is built the luminous and incontrovertible canon of Tertullian: WHATEVER IS FIRST, IS TRUE; WHATEVER IS LATER, IS ADULTERATE.

And almost little, even to any person, need I point out the application of this canon, when once it has been thus laid down.

If a man calls upon me to receive a particular exposition of Scripture, which, by the exercise of what is denominated *Private Judgment*, he has

persuaded himself is the true one ; I naturally require him to prove, by adequate historical testimony, that his proposed exposition sets forth the real import of the passage : for, however satisfactory, to *his own* mind, may peradventure be the result of *his own* private judgment ; most clearly the declaration of *his* private judgment is no proof to *me*, that he *has* struck out the true interpretation. What *I* require from him, is *tangible evidence*, not *mere bold gratuitous assertion*. Let him *shew*, that the primitive Church, from the declared teaching of the Apostles, interpreted as *he* interprets : and I have done. But, if he *cannot* shew this ; and, still more, if, upon inquiry, the primitive Church shall be found to have adopted, professedly from the Apostles, a totally different mode of exposition : *then*, in the *first* case, his projected interpretation, to say the very least of it, is of no authority ; and, in the *second* case, this same projected interpretation must be at once discarded, as absolutely false and erroneous. When matters turn out to be *thus* circumstanced, to appeal, in the exposition of Scripture, to his own private judgment, is to talk absolute nonsense. No new-fangled interpretation can, on the plea of private judgment,

be for a moment received, when it shall appear, that this private judgment is either unsupported by or contradicted by the well ascertained voice of the really primitive Church apostolic. A man might as well claim to determine, by his own *insulated* and *uninquiring* private judgment, the sense of a classical allusion, in neglect or defiance of the voice of classical antiquity: as he might claim to determine, by a similar crude exercise of his naked and uninformed private judgment, the sense of a *now* disputed passage of Scripture, in neglect or defiance of the voice of ecclesiastical antiquity.

I. The principle here insisted upon (the wise and rational principle, as your lordship well knows, enforced by Irenæus and Tertullian and other primitive doctors of the Catholic Church) I have, in a former Work, applied to the peculiarities of Popery: and it is not among the least of the startling Difficulties of Romanism, that that system has been found unable to abide the test of sober historical inquiry.

1. Doubtless, many popish doctrines may be traced up to a considerable height of *relative* antiquity: but *this* is insufficient to establish their claim to the authority of assured apostolicity.

In every instance of romish *peculiarities*, the chain of connection, between our own age and the age of the first inspired teachers of Christianity, is too short. We vainly try to stretch it, beyond *this* certain point, or beyond *that* certain point. At its distant extremity, the links, which *ought* to have united it to the Apostles, are uniformly wanting.

2. Nor is even this deficiency the worst part of the matter.

Not only, *negatively*, do all traces of popish peculiarities fail us, as we penetrate deeper and deeper into antiquity : but also, *positively*, we often find, in the occurrence of primitively received doctrines which stand forth in direct opposition, a distinct and unequivocal testimony against them.

3. Hence, clearly, the scheme, which, in one comprehensive word, may be termed *Popery*, is convicted of an origin *posterior* to the time of the Apostles.

It is convicted, therefore, through the unexceptionable medium of historical evidence, of being a mere human invention : and, as such, agreeably to the canon of Tertullian, it must, because later than the beginning, be rejected as adulterate.

II. If, by way of yet further illustrating my proposed line of argument, the same principle be applied to yet another theological system: *that* system will, if I mistake not, be found equally deficient in the grand essential of historic testimony.

1. The scheme of interpretation, now familiarly, though perhaps (if a scheme ought to be designated by the name of its *original* contriver) not quite correctly, styled *Calvinism*, may be readily traced back, in the Latin or Western Church, to the time of Augustine.

But *here* we find ourselves completely at fault.

Augustine, at the beginning of the fifth century, is the *first* ecclesiastical writer, who annexes, to the scriptural terms *elect* and *predestinate*, the peculiar sense which is now usually styled *Calvinistic*. With *him*, in a form scarcely less round and perfect than *that* long subsequently proposed by the celebrated Genevan Reformer himself, commenced an entirely new system of interpretation previously unknown in the Church Catholic.

What I state, is a mere dry historical fact. Nor can it be safely said, by way of invalidating this fact, that evidence, *now* unhappily lost, *once*

notoriously existed : evidence, I mean, by which Calvinism, or (to speak more correctly) Austinism, might have been distinctly traced up to the apostolic age. The illustrious Augustine himself has for ever silenced any plea of *this* description.

When, toward the close of his controversy with the Pelagians, he entered largely and systematically into his own peculiar views of election and predestination (views, which, in *one* place at least, he somewhat incautiously acknowledges himself to have diligently *sought out* and *discovered* ; while he tells his opponents, that, if they differ from him in such views, God will *reveal* those views to them, provided they walk in the light to which they have attained) : when, I say, he at length entered largely and systematically into his own peculiar doctrinal views ; it was, even by those who concurred in the general drift of his previous antipelagian treatises and whose soundness in regard to the doctrines of free grace and original sin he himself freely admits, immediately and unequivocally objected to him, that he was *now* superfluously advancing a scheme of doctrine, hitherto unknown and unheard of ; a scheme of doctrine, contrary to the opinion of all antecedent Fathers and contrary to the sense of

the entire Church Catholic ; a scheme of doctrine, which set forth the language of the Apostle Paul, when addressing the Romans, in such sort as it had never before been understood by any of the ecclesiastical writers.

Here, we may observe, Augustine is directly attacked upon the plain and simple score of a mere FACT.

Whatever, abstractedly, might be the merits or demerits, the truth or falsehood, of his system, it is roundly charged, at the beginning of the fifth century, with being A PALPABLE NOVELTY.

To such a charge, any *metaphysical* defence of the system itself, or any confident adduction of the *words* of Scripture when in truth the real question at issue was the *import* of those words, were clearly no legitimate answer.

The allegation of a FACT, by whomsoever that fact may be alleged, can only, through the medium of direct historical testimony, be disposed of by a satisfactory denial of that FACT.

Augustine, in the abstract, might be very right, or he might be very wrong, in his speculation : but Augustine was charged with NOVELTY.

Certainly, therefore, his sole business was to

overwhelm his censurers with a mass of citations, which should distinctly and triumphantly prove : that, from the very first, and on the express sanction of the Apostles, the scriptural terms *elect* and *predestinate* had been *uniformly* understood, by the earlier Fathers and by the entire Catholic Church, precisely as he himself, agreeably to the well-remembered instructions which he had received from his Catechist, *still* understood them at the beginning of the fifth century.

Such, plainly, was his *sole* business : for any *other* reply were an utterly irrelevant travelling out of the record.

But how does the great Bishop of Hippo act under the present allegation ?

(1.) Truly, so far as the *first* part of the asserted FACT is concerned, namely *the contrariety of his doctrinal scheme to the opinion of all antecedent Fathers*, he at length, after much superfluous discussion and (I fear) with a too evident reluctance to meddle with the appeal to antiquity, claims to produce exactly three witnesses in his favour : Cyprian to wit, and Ambrose, and Gregory of Nazianzum.

Now, with respect to this woefully meagre tale

of authorities, even were such authorities pertinent and distinct and full to his purpose ; still, to carry any real weight, they would all be far too modern : for Cyprian flourished not until the middle of the third century ; and Ambrose and Gregory lived during the latter part of the fourth century.

But, in truth, with the scanty exception of nine words written by Ambrose, their several testimonies are altogether nugatory and irrelevant : so that, in point of historical evidence as afforded by those Fathers who preceded Augustine, the whole mighty fabric of Calvinism or Austinism rests upon the single Ambrosian sentence ; *Deus, quos dignatur, vocat : et, quem vult, religiosum facit.*

(2.) Still, however, Augustine does not despair of making the Church Catholic his auxiliary : though his contemporaries had declared his new system to be notoriously contrary to the received sense of the Church.

It is really painful to observe the mode, in which this great man would invalidate the *second* part of the FACT alleged against him.

The Church, he admits, was not wont to bring forward, in preaching, his own peculiar view of election and predestination : because, formerly,

there were no adversaries to answer. But then the Church, however silent she might be, clearly shews, that she held, all the while, his own precise doctrinal system. For the Church, says he, directs us to pray with Cyprian, that believers may persevere to the end. Therefore the Church plainly inculcates the doctrine of predestined final perseverance : and thence, by a necessary circle of consequences, she must doubtless be understood, as always holding, and as virtually inculcating, the argumentatively antecedent doctrines of election and predestination, as those doctrines were received and explained by Augustine ; because predestined final perseverance of course depends upon and presupposes, according to the regular progress of the five points, the doctrine of irreversible election to eternal glory.

2. We must say, I fear, that the alleged FACT remains, after all the efforts and all the dexterity of Augustine, wholly uncontradicted by the testimony of history.

Augustine, therefore, at the beginning of the fifth century, confessedly stands forth, as the original inventor of that scheme of interpretation, which, in our days, is usually denominated *Calvinism*.

To this *negative* testimony, let us add the *positive* evidence which may easily be collected, that the primitive Church, from the time of St. Paul's apostolic friend and fellow-labourer the venerable Clement of Rome, down to the very age of Augustine himself, always understood the scriptural terms *vocation* and *election* to mean *ecclesiastical vocation* and *ecclesiastical election*, that is to say, a *successive vocation and election of individuals, from the great mass of the Jewish and Gentile World, into the visible Church of Christ, with the intention and for the purpose of their becoming holy, though with a possibility of their not making their vocation and election certain*: let us, I say, add *positive* evidence to *negative* testimony; and the system, first struck out by Augustine, will, I fear, not stand the test required by the canon of Tertullian. It existed not from the beginning, on the universally avowed and acknowledged ground of its setting forth the publicly declared mind of the Apostles: but it commenced with the fifth century, under the authority of mere human uninspired teaching; it was immediately charged with being a palpable and hitherto unheard of *novelty*; and, that charge,

its author, as might indeed have been anticipated from his previous unguarded confession that he had *discovered* his system in Scripture only by dint of *his own diligent research*, was utterly unable effectually to repel. Yet, by the very nature and necessity of things, whatever in revelation is first, is true: whatever is later, is adulterate.

III. And now, what is the special object of the present Work, we may advantageously note, how different, from both these two cases of Popery and Austinism, is the very remarkable case of the combined doctrine of the Trinity and of Christ's essential godhead.

1. In almost every line of direct evidence which could have been anteriorly devised and required, this vital and all-important doctrine may be distinctly traced, step by step, up to the apostolic age and the apostolic teaching themselves.

2. Each line of evidence, even *alone*, amounts to proof positive. But, when the testimonies afforded by *all* the lines conjointly are united together, and when the wreathed chain of evidence thus produced is found to reach from our own days to the days of the Apostles: the demon-

stration, that *The doctrine before us is indeed the doctrine of the Bible*, falls, I think, little short of even mathematical demonstration.

To request your lordship's patronage of these volumes you have recently given me a distinguished claim, which I should be unwise not to urge and ungrateful ever to forget. Should they, through God's blessing, prove useful, in this day of rebuke and blasphemy, either to those who are faithfully preparing themselves for Holy Orders, or to our clerical brethren in their possible discussions with an adversary, or to our honestly inquiring laic brethren at large : you yourself, I well know, would be the first to assert, that my labours had received a higher reward than it is in the power of man to bestow.

I have the honour to be,

Your lordship's most obliged

and obedient servant,

G. S. FABER.

INTRODUCTION.

A KNOWLEDGE of the mode, in which God exists, is the foundation of all acceptable religious service.

For, without this knowledge, instead of worshipping the Deity as he really exists, we shall be in danger of worshipping a mere figment of our own imagination. And thus, while we suppose ourselves to be faithful servants of the alone true God : we we may, effectively at least, be guilty of adoring an idol.

I. With respect to the specific mode in which God exists, we obviously can know nothing save what he himself has been pleased to communicate.

Now, in what all Christians believe to be the very word of the Deity, a communication, to that precise effect, actually *has* been made.

Hence, as it would seem, every ground of discrepancy ought hereafter to be completely removed.

Yet this is far from being the case. For two theological systems, differing most vitally from each

other, and yet severally claiming to be founded upon Scripture, are, in the present day, warmly maintained and defended by their respective adherents.

1. These two systems differ, in regard to *the nature of the divine unity*.

(1.) According to the *one* system, God exists in perfect unity of essence. And he so exists in perfect unity of essence, that he exists, at the same time, in a single person *only*.

(2.) But, according to the *other* system, God exists, indeed, in perfect unity of essence. Yet he so exists in perfect unity of essence, that he exists, at the same time, in three distinct persons *also*.

2. They differ, likewise, in regard to *the personal character of the Son*.

(1.) According to the *one* system, Christ is a perfect man. And he is so a perfect man, that he is nothing more than a *mere* man : a man, that is to say, born in the ordinary course of nature, and in every physical respect similar to ourselves.

(2.) But, according to the *other* system, Christ is a perfect man indeed. Yet he is so a perfect man, that, by the union of the divine nature to the human nature, he is *also* perfect God : being, incarnately, the second of those three distinct persons, who are jointly comprehended within the absolute unity of the divine essence.

3. They differ, moreover, in regard to *the nature of the Holy Ghost*.

(1.) According to the *one* system, the Holy Ghost is, either the unipersonal God himself, or the personification of a quality, or a certain peculiar virtue and efficacy of God through the medium of which God operates, or spiritual gifts, or a collective body of men inspired by God, or the highest of created angels: though it does not seem as yet to have been positively settled, WHICH of these six several opinions ought to be adopted *exclusively* ¹.

¹ I subjoin the six antitrinitarian definitions of the Holy Ghost; appending the authorities, whence I learn their respective proposal and adoption by the most esteemed doctors of the Antitrinitarian School.

I. The first definition is: that *The Holy Ghost is GOD HIMSELF*; or, in other words, that *The Holy Ghost is identical with the unipersonal Deity commonly styled the Father*.

1. Cum Spiritus Sanctus sit Spiritus Dei; certumque sit alioqui (1 Corinth. ii. 9—11.), spiritum alicujus personæ non posse esse personam, ab ea, cujus est spiritus, distinctam: non minus constare, cùm Spiritui Sancto ea tribuuntur, quæ personæ et simul ipsius Dei sunt propria, nihil aliud intelligendum nomine Spiritûs Sancti esse, quam IPSUM DEUM. Faust. Socin. Respons. ad Wiek. c. x.

2. Sometimes, the Spirit or Holy Spirit of God is put directly for GOD HIMSELF: as in 1 Corinth. ii. 11. The Spirit of God here is GOD HIMSELF. Lindsey's Sequel to Apol. p. 163.

II. The second definition is: that *The Holy Ghost is THE PERSONIFICATION OF A QUALITY*.

1. By

(2.) But, according to the *other* system, the Holy Ghost is strictly a personal agent. For he

1. By the Spirit or Holy Spirit of God, is most frequently signified HIS POWER OR WISDOM OR BOTH. Lindsey's Sequel to Apol. p. 164.

2. Both Satan and the Holy Spirit are PERSONIFICATIONS OF QUALITIES. New Testam. in an Improved Version, note on Acts v. 3, 4.

III. The third definition is: that *The Holy Ghost* is A CERTAIN PECULIAR VIRTUE AND EFFICACY OF GOD, THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF WHICH GOD OPERATES.

1. Ipsum Deum, Spiritu suo, id est, VIRTUTE ATQUE EFFICACIA SUA, agentem atque operantem. Faust. Socin. Respons. ad Wiek. c. x.

2. Credo me satis ostendisse, Spiritum Sanctum non esse personam, non magis quam aliæ vel proprietates vel effecta Dei sint personæ: cùm nihil sit aliud, quam PECULIARIS QUEDAM VIRTUS ET EFFICACIA DEI. Faust. Socin. Respons. ad Wiek. c. x.

IV. The fourth definition is: that *The Holy Ghost* is SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

1. *Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost:* as a symbolical profession of that holy religion; which originated with the Father, was taught by Christ the Son (that is, the servant and messenger of God), and confirmed by THE GIFTS OF THE HOLY GHOST. New Test. in an Improv. Vers. note on Matt. xxviii. 19.

2. See also the same definition given, in Catech. Racov. c. vi. quæst. 12, and in Priestley's Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 7. Works, vol. v. p. 58.

V. The fifth definition is: that *The Holy Ghost* is A COLLECTIVE BODY OF MEN INSPIRED BY GOD.

is the third of those three distinct persons, who are

To deceive the Holy Spirit : that is, MEN WHO WERE INSPIRED BY GOD. New Testam. in an Improv. Version, note on Acts v. 3, 4.

VI. The sixth definition is : that *The Holy Ghost is THE HIGHEST OF CREATED ANGELS.*

Justinus Spiritum Sanctum cum angelis conjungit, quasi UNUS EORUM ESSET ET PRÆCIPUUS, UT REVERA EST, quicquid Justinus senserit. Gilbert. Cleric. Antinicanism. p. 105.

Mr. Clerke borrowed this definition from John Biddle, who had previously advanced and maintained it as expressing the undoubted scriptural import of the Holy Ghost. See Bull. Brev. Animad. in Antenicæn. § 24.

With respect to Justin, as will readily be believed, he says nothing of what Mr. Clerke is pleased to attribute to him. I subjoin his own words : in which he testifies, under the plural form, that, as he and the whole Catholic Church of his day, as it subsisted about thirty years after the death of St. John, had been catechetically taught by their predecessors the worship and adoration of THE FATHER and THE SON and THE SPIRIT ; so were they willing ungrudgingly to communicate the same worship and adoration to their successors.

Ἄλλ' Ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν ἐλθόντα (καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν), Πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικόν, σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες, καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ὥς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀφθόνως παραδιδόντες. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 43. Sylburg. 1593.

My *present* business, however, is merely to shew, on the unexceptionable authority of Mr. Biddle and Mr. Clerke : that, according to one of the six interpretations propounded by the Antitrinitarian School, the Holy Ghost is THE HIGHEST (præcipuus) OF CREATED ANGELS.

jointly comprehended within the absoluteness of the divine unity.

4. They differ, finally, in *their ascription of essential divinity*.

(1.) According to the *one* system, the Father is true God *exclusively* of the Son and the Spirit. Or, at least, when the Spirit is pronounced to be personally identical with the Father, the Father is true God *exclusively* of the Son.

(2.) But, according to the *other* system, the Father is true God, the Son is true God, and the Holy Ghost is true God: and all the three, *collectively*, are the one true God. Yet the Father, personally, is not the Son: nor is the Son, personally, the Holy Ghost: nor is the Holy Ghost, personally, the Father.

II. Each of these two systems claims alike to be founded upon SCRIPTURE.

But, in reality, the true basis of each is A PARTICULAR INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

For Scripture *itself* decides nothing, until it be first interpreted.

On this point, simple as it is, I have observed great confusion of ideas among some even of the most approved of the antitrinitarian writers.

1. Mr. Lindsey, for instance, assures us: that THE AUTHORITIES OF MEN *are nothing*. And he adds:

that *It is* HOLY SCRIPTURE ALONE, *which can decide the important point at issue between the Trinitarian and the Antitrinitarian*¹.

(1.) Now, in this two-fold statement, so far as I

¹ Lindsey's Apol. p. 23. I think it only equitable to say, that this confusion of ideas is no way *peculiar* to the Antitrinitarian School.

We often hear it crudely said by those who ought to know better: that *They prefer the decision of God's revealed word to the decision of Fathers and Councils.*

I. Such a preference, *in the abstract*, no sober Christian will censure: but *this*, I apprehend, is not the *real* question. Before we talk of *preference*, we ought to ascertain *WHAT* the decision of God's revealed word *really* is: otherwise, we may be in no small danger of mistaking *our own private decision* for the *authoritative decision of Holy Scripture.*

II. The whole matter, though the propounders of a vulgar paralogism are very apt to overlook it, rests upon the point of INTERPRETATION: and it does not *quite* necessarily follow, that the decision of God's revealed word is *really* that, which *we* may rapidly *pronounce* to be its decision.

1. Hence, though *no* prudent person would broadly prefer the decision of Fathers and Councils to the decision of God's revealed word: yet *many* prudent persons may haply prefer an *interpretation* of God's word propounded by an ancient Father to an *interpretation* of God's word propounded by the insulated private judgment of a modern theologian.

2. A cautious inquirer will always distinguish, between the *actual decision* and the *asserted decision*, of God's revealed word. They are in no wise, *of necessity*, identical.

can understand its purport, *Mr. Lindsey advocates a plain impossibility.*

Scripture ALONE, he tells us, *must decide the important point at issue between the Trinitarian and the Antitrinitarian:* and *The authorities of men are NOTHING.*

Yet Scripture, it is quite clear, cannot *decide* the important point at issue, unless it be first *interpreted*. And, in the present state of the world, all supernatural communication with heaven having ceased, Scripture cannot be *interpreted* save by some *human being*.

But, whenever Scripture is interpreted by *a man*, EVERY such interpretation must inevitably rest upon the authority of *a man*.

Mr. Lindsey, however, without making a single exception, declares: that *The authorities of men are NOTHING.*

Therefore, inasmuch as ALL interpretations rest upon the authorities of *men*, and inasmuch as the authorities of *men* are NOTHING: it clearly follows; that, in the judgment of Mr. Lindsey, EVERY interpretation must be *alike* rejected, on the express score of its resting upon NOTHING.

Now, when EVERY interpretation shall have been thus *alike* equitably rejected; and, consequently, when Mr. Lindsey's *own* interpretation shall have

been rejected among the rest (for *The authorities of men are NOTHING* : and Mr. Lindsey's *own* interpretation, however we may admire its ingenuity, is, after all, the mere authoritative decision of *a man*): Holy Scripture, at length, remains quite ALONE.

But, as Mr. Lindsey teaches us, *It is Holy Scripture thus* ALONE, or Holy Scripture altogether unadulterated by ANY HUMAN INTERPRETATION, *which must finally decide the important point at issue between the Trinitarian and Antitrinitarian.*

(2.) A prudent inquirer will *here* naturally ask, how this extraordinary feat of controversial decision *can* be accomplished after the mode recommended by Mr. Lindsey. For, to all *practical* intents and purposes, SCRIPTURE UNINTERPRETED, or Scripture perused without the annexation of a single hermeneutic idea to its phraseology, is neither more nor less, than SCRIPTURE IN A STATE OF PROFOUND SILENCE.

To the present very obvious question, the very obvious reply is the proposition with which I set out.

Mr. Lindsey is the advocate of a plain impossibility.

For, most indisputably, the entire matter will stand in manner following.

Scripture UNINTERPRETED can *decide* nothing.

But, according to Mr. Lindsey, no human inter-

pretation, *so far as concerns the decision of a theological question*, is of the least value. For EVERY human interpretation rests upon the authority of *a man*. And, as Mr. Lindsey himself distinctly assures us, *The authorities of men are NOTHING*.

Therefore, when, in one breath, Mr. Lindsey tells us; that *Scripture ALONE must decide the point at issue*, and yet that *The authorities of men in the interpretation of Scripture are NOTHING*: he clearly recommends, to our honest labours, the accomplishment of an impossibility.

(3.) The antitrinitarian admirer of this paradoxical speculatist may very possibly urge: that *The point at issue ought, indeed, to be decided by Scripture ALONE; but, then, so by Scripture alone, AS SCRIPTURE IS INTERPRETED BY MR. LINDSEY*.

Such a claim, should it be gravely propounded, would be nothing better than mere solemn trifling.

For, in the first place, there seems to be no special reason, why we should be bound to take the interpretation of Mr. Lindsey, rather than the interpretation of an other person.

And, in the second place, by telling us that *The authorities of men are NOTHING*, Mr. Lindsey *himself* (a judge, from whom his admirers cannot, in the *present* matter, consistently appeal) has, virtually and by a plain necessity of consequence, assured us: that *his own* interpretation of Scripture pos-

sesses no authority; that, in truth, it is a mere NOTHING; and that it is, thence, unworthy of the slightest attention.

2. Mr. Haynes, according to the account given of him by Mr. Lindsey, seems to have involved himself in the very same confusion of ideas. For, with *him* also as with Mr. Lindsey, *The word of God ALONE is to settle the matter*: while yet, at the same time, *No regard is to be paid to ANY human scheme or explanation of that word*.

Mr. Lindsey has favoured us with the following statement of the principles of this kindred theologian.

*He was fully persuaded, in his own mind, of the truth of his sentiments concerning God and Jesus Christ. He founded them upon the Sacred Scriptures, for which he had the highest veneration. He thought himself thoroughly justified, to his own conscience, in taking his notions of God from the word of God ALONE. And he, THEREFORE, paid but little regard to ANY human scheme or explanation*¹.

¹ Lindsey's Sequel to Apol. p. 20—23. The same contempt of primitive antiquity, and the same adulation of their own superior wisdom in the interpretation of Scripture, as that which so strongly characterises our modern Unipersonalists, equally characterised the Arians at the beginning of the fourth century. Their humour is strongly delineated in an epistle of Alexander

Now, than this conduct of Mr. Haynes, built on *his own avowed principles* as reported (very faith-

of Alexandria to Alexander of Constantinople, which has been preserved by Theodoret.

Οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων τινὰς συγκρίνειν ἑαυτοῖς ἀξιοῦσιν· οὐδὲ, οἷς ἡμεῖς ἐκ παίδων ὠμιλήσαμεν διδασκάλοις, ἐξισοῦσθαι ἀνέχονται. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν πανταχοῦ συλλειτουργῶν τινα εἰς μέτρον σοφίας ἡγοῦνται· μόνοι σοφοὶ καὶ ἀκτήμονες καὶ δογμάτων εὐρέται λέγοντες εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκαλύφθαι μόνοις, ἥπερ οὐδενὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἐτέρῳ πέφυκεν ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἔννοιαν. Theod. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 4. p. 16. Paris. 1673.

In truth, the imprudent boast of the Arians, that they were *discoverers of doctrines*, *δογμάτων εὐρέται*, was obviously, even in itself, a condemnation of their system. Had their scheme set forth the genuine purport of the Gospel, it could not have been *discovered* at the beginning of the fourth century. On the contrary, it must have been universally *known* and *received*, in the Catholic Church, from the very time of the Apostles. A confession of *doctrinal novelty* is a confession of *doctrinal falsehood*. In matters purely secular, such as the arts and sciences, we may, from time to time, as the world grows older, reasonably expect the making of new discoveries. But, in the very nature and necessity of a divine revelation, no *new* discoveries of doctrine, at an age *subsequent* to the delivery of the revelation itself, can possibly be accomplished. Doctrinal error may, doubtless, be removed: and long-smothered doctrinal truth may, doubtless, be *rediscovered*. But, in every such case, the acquisition of doctrinal truth must be strictly a *rediscovery*, as contradistinguished from a *new discovery*: nor can any pretence even of a *rediscovery* be legitimately admitted, unless the pro-

fully, I doubt not) by Mr. Lindsey, nothing, surely, can be more irrational, more inconsistent, and more self-contradictory.

Mr. Haynes, we are told, paid but little regard to *any* human scheme or to *any* human explanation. And yet, upon the mere strength of *his own* explanation of Scripture, *he was* FULLY PERSUADED of the truth of his sentiments concerning God and Jesus Christ. In other words, he was FULLY PERSUADED upon the mere strength of what, *even by his own shewing*, was worthy of but little regard.

Accordingly, as Mr. Lindsey yet further informs us, Mr. Haynes, though he pronounced ALL human interpretations of Scripture, and therefore obviously *his own* among the rest, to be undeserving of the least notice, absolutely declared : that *He himself had* NO DOUBTS, NO SCRUPLES, NO SECRET MISGIVINGS,

pounder can shew, from clear and distinct historical testimony, that he has merely brought again to light a long-suppressed and a once universally received *primeval* doctrine. Divine or doctrinal truth must needs be *from the very beginning* : and, if from the very beginning a doctrine has *not* subsisted, that circumstance *alone* demonstrates its palpable falsehood. There cannot be a more hopeless fatuity, than either to assert or to expect a *new doctrinal discovery* in the field of Theology. The asserter of any such new discovery is a mountebank : and the expectant of it is an idiot. ID ESSE VERUM, QUODCUNQUE PRIMUM : ID ESSE ADULTERUM, QUODCUNQUE POSTERIUS. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 2. Oper. p. 405.

*that he either WAS, or even MIGHT BE, mistaken. But, on the contrary, he assured his friends: that He had A FULL AND ENTIRE PERSUASION, that his own foundation was MOST CERTAIN AND INFALLIBLE*¹.

The truth of the matter is: that, although Mr. Haynes claimed to found his sentiments upon *the word of God* ALONE, he really founded them upon HIS OWN PRIVATE EXPLANATION of *that word*; while yet, with singular inconsistency, he at the same time professed to pay small regard to ANY human scheme or explanation.

His foundation, in short, as he gravely assures us, is *most certain and infallible*. But his certainty and his infallibility rest upon the mere authority of *a man*. And Mr. Lindsey will teach him, that *the authorities of men are nothing*.

3. Exactly the same remark applies to the parallel dogmatism of Dr. Priestley.

When speaking of the Bible, this writer asserts: that *He himself, Dr. Priestley to wit, is IN FULL POSSESSION of that strong-hold of his faith*².

¹ Lindsey's Sequel to Apol. p. 20—23.

² Priestley's Works, vol. xviii. p. 567. Yet Dr. Priestley treats this strong-hold of his faith somewhat unceremoniously: for he denies the authority of the Bible to be *final*.

After claiming to have shewn, that *there is no such doctrine as that of the Trinity in the Scriptures*: he boldly adds; that, IF IT HAD BEEN FOUND THERE, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE

Now, in the very nature and necessity of things, it is certain : that the Bible *cannot* be the strong-

FOR A REASONABLE MAN TO BELIEVE IT ; *as it implies a contradiction, which no miracles can prove.* Hist. of Early Opin. Introd. sect. iv. Works, vol. vi. p. 33, 34.

I. We may safely concede to Dr. Priestley, that a revelation from God *cannot* propound a contradiction : but it does not, by any *necessary* consequence, seem *thence* to follow, that, what Dr. Priestley deems a contradiction, is *really* such. A more modest, and (I will venture to add) a more rational, inquirer would not have professed his predetermination to reject a doctrine, *even if revealed in Scripture*, on the very insufficient ground : that such a doctrine, to *his* finite reason, *antecedently* APPEARED to be a contradiction. He would rather, I think, have been humbly satisfied : that no REAL contradiction *could* subsist in a doctrine, which, in point of fact, *was* revealed in Scripture.

II. Be this, however, as it may, Dr. Priestley denies the authority of the Bible to be *final*, while yet he compliments it with the title of *the strong-hold of his faith*. Professedly he would not believe the doctrine of the Trinity, even if it could be clearly ascertained, *as a naked matter of fact*, that that doctrine *is* taught in the Bible. In such a *supposed* case, which may peradventure turn out to be a *true* case, he would reject his strong-hold the Bible, rather than believe what the Bible teaches.

III. When a person has once laid it down *antecedently*, that the doctrine of the Trinity CANNOT be true : he must inevitably come to the perusal of Scripture, not with any intention of LEARNING what *may* be there revealed, but with a full resolution of so expounding Scripture as to *compel* it to speak his own sentiments and thus to enable him to declare that he FINDS in it a

hold of Dr. Priestley's faith, until he shall have first so *interpreted* it as to enforce its agreement with his own system.

But, in the business of *interpretation*, the *authorities of men are nothing* : and the authority even of Dr. Priestley is *only* the authority of a *man*.

Therefore Dr. Priestley's faith, being founded merely upon *his own* interpretation of Scripture, which interpretation rests merely upon *his own* human authority, is founded, as Mr. Lindsey will teach him, upon *nothing*.

III. Discarding, then, the contradictory language of some antitrinitarian writers ; that *The point at issue between them and their opponents must be decided by Scripture ALONE*, while yet *The authorities of men in the interpretation of Scripture are NOTHING* : we may now say ; that *The dispute, between the modern Trinitarian and the modern Antitrinitarian, is really a dispute, not respecting THE AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURE, but respecting THE RIGHT INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.*

system which he had already predetermined to be the truth *independently* of Scripture.

Accordingly, the result of Dr. Priestley's biblical inquiries is precisely such as might have been anticipated.

He came to the sacred volume with a full resolution, not to LEARN what it *does* teach, but to FIND in it what he had pronounced it *ought* to teach.

The reason of this is obvious.

Though each disputant professes to appeal to SCRIPTURE as his voucher and authority : each, in truth, appeals to HIS OWN INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

For, let his *reasons* be valid or invalid, still, in point of *fact*, each maintains : that *his own* interpretation of Scripture, to the exclusion of the interpretation proposed by *his opponent*, ought assuredly to be adopted.

The naked scriptural dispute being thus finally brought, as, in the judgment of plain common sense, it always *must* be finally brought, to the question of INTERPRETATION : however each party may be satisfied with their own *particular* view of Scripture ; yet, since *each* party strenuously denies the propriety of the interpretation respectively advocated by the *opposing* party, and since without some tangible proof more cogent than mere dogmatical assertion *neither* party can have a right to demand from the *other* party an implicit admission of *this* interpretation or of *that* interpretation, I see not, how the dispute can ever be *controversially* settled, save by the adduction of some unexceptionable UMPIRE, to whom *both* parties may be willing to submit, or at least to whom an impartial bystander will allow that they *ought* to submit.

Now exactly such an UMPIRE has been excellently

pointed out to us by Dr. Priestley : and his statement so bears upon its very front the impress of truth and reason, that no sober inquirer, I think, of *either* party, can possibly start any maintainable objection ; least of all can the members of the Antitrinitarian School, since the UMPIRE in question has been spontaneously proposed by one of themselves.

The proposal of this UMPIRE, who is peculiarly unexceptionable because in truth he is called in purely to decide upon a question of FACT, I shall give in the precise words of his proposer Dr. Priestley.

The true doctrine, concerning the person of Christ, must be allowed to have been held by the Apostles.

They, no doubt, knew, whether their Master was only a man like themselves, or their Maker.

Their immediate disciples would receive and maintain the same doctrine that they held.

And it must have been some time, before any other could have been introduced and have spread to any extent : and, especially, before it could have become the prevailing opinion ¹.

¹ Priestley's Reply to Animad. Introd. sect. iv. Works, vol. xviii. p. 23.

On the divine authority of the Christian Scriptures as a Rule of Faith, the American theologian, Dr. Channing is full and express : but his deductions from those Scriptures rest not upon

1. In asserting, on the part of the primitive Church, the moral impossibility of error so far as

any more solid foundation, than his own gratuitous assumption of their accuracy.

Jesus Christ is the only master of Christians : and, WHATEVER HE TAUGHT, EITHER DURING HIS PERSONAL MINISTRY, OR BY HIS INSPIRED APOSTLES, we regard as of divine authority, and profess to make the rule of our lives. Sermon at the ordin. of Mr. Sparks, p. 5. fifth Liverpool edit.

I. Whether, after such a declaration, Dr. Channing, like Dr. Priestley, would, with a high hand, *reject* the doctrine of the Trinity, even if he were *evidentially* satisfied, that, *in point of fact*, it is *revealed* in Scripture ; I will not undertake to determine : I can only hope, that he would not be guilty of this strange and unhallowed inconsistency.

That Dr. Channing *thinks* and *believes* his own interpretation of Scripture to be correct, I make no doubt : but the very strongest *belief* and *persuasion*, on the part of any mere dogmatical interpreter, is NO PROOF.

1. Here lies the grand defect of modern Antitrinitarianism. IT IS A COMPLETE TISSUE OF HERMENEUTIC ASSUMPTION AND ASSERTION.

Dr. Priestley, indeed, in his two Histories, as if conscious of this blot, has attempted to remove it, after the only mode in which it *can* be removed : with what success, may perhaps appear in the course of the following investigation. As for Dr. Channing, like the rest of his School, he gives us *his own* exposition of Scripture : but, if we ask for PROOF that *his* exposition is the *true* exposition, we shall vainly seek for any evidence more cogent, than *his own* belief and persuasion that he *does* give the true exposition.

Now,

respects the MERE FACT, *What the Apostles did or did not teach to that Church concerning the nature*

Now, so far as I can comprehend the principles of right reasoning, this is what is called a PETITIO PRINCIPII: or, in other words, it is to ASSUME the very point which ought to have been PROVED.

How do I *know*, that Dr. Channing's interpretation gives, as it professes, the real mind of Scripture? Why am I to *receive* the exposition of an Antitrinitarian, when he assigns no better *reason* for my receiving it; than that *he himself* pronounces it exclusively rational, and that *he himself* believes it to be true?

That Dr. Channing is *sincere* in his belief that he has hit upon the genuine exposition of Scripture, I may readily and safely admit. But what is *this*, in the way of suasive DEMONSTRATION?

2. Again I must repeat: that even the most honest *conviction* of Dr. Channing or of any other antitrinitarian divine, in regard to the perfect accuracy of his scriptural interpretation, is to *me* no PROOF, that he is *really* a sound interpreter. Without PROOF, my feeling is only that of the *Incredulus odi*. I ask for PROOF: and I am met by ASSERTION.

II. On the same mistaken principle of substituting mere dogmatism for direct evidence, Dr. Channing asks: *How can the Protestant escape from Transubstantiation, a doctrine most clearly taught us, if the submission of reason, now contended for, be a duty?* Ibid. p. 13.

1. Truly, a protestant Catholic, were he to work upon the basis recommended by Dr. Channing, would make but a sorry figure in the presence of an intelligent roman Catholic.

The latter would immediately ask him; and very reasonably, to boot, would he ask him: *Why a Romanist is bound to take a Protestant's interpretation of our Lord's words, rather than his*

of God and of Christ : I confess myself quite to agree with Dr. Priestley.

own interpretation of them ; merely because the Protestant asserts, that his interpretation of them is undoubtedly the true interpretation?

Were I a Transubstantialist, and were I treated by an opponent with nothing more cogent than DOGMATICAL ASSERTION ; verily, I should remain a Transubstantialist to the end of my life : for I should obviously discern no reason, why, on the ground of *bare asseveration*, I ought to relinquish *my* exposition in favour of a *protestant* exposition.

2. But, in truth, until taught by Dr. Channing, I never was aware : that the doctrine of Transubstantiation *is* clearly propounded in Scripture, whence it can only be dislodged by bringing the artillery of human reason to bear upon it. On the contrary, I had always conceived, with Tertullian and Cyril of Jerusalem and Athanasius and Augustine and Walafrid Strabo and Arnold of Bonneval, that our Lord *himself* guards us against a literal interpretation of his words, by telling us : that *it is the spirit which quickeneth*, that *the flesh profiteth nothing*, and that *his words are spirit and life*. John vi. 63. See Tertull. de resurr. carn. § xxviii. Oper. p. 69. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Mystag. iv. p. 236, 237, 238. Athan. in illud Evan. Quicumque dixerit verbum contra filium hominis. Oper. vol. i. p. 771, 772. August. Enarr. in Psalm. xcvi. Oper. vol. viii. p. 397. Walaf. Strab. de Reb. Eccles. c. xvi. Arnold. Tractat. de Coen. Domin. ad calc. Oper. Cyprian. vol. ii. p. 40.

3. No protestant Catholic, who understood the *real* ground of making good his difference from the Roman Church, would ever, *mutatis mutandis*, say with Dr. Priestley : that, *even if the doctrine of Transubstantiation were assuredly found in Scrip-*

(1.) Clearly, I think, the primitive Church **MUST**, in all the fulness of absolute certainty, have known

ture, still he would not believe it. To use the phraseology of Dr. Channing, he *escapes* from that doctrine, without the least difficulty and without the least incongruity : because, as, *hermeneutically*, his Saviour directs him to understand and to interpret his words *spiritually* or *figuratively* ; so, *in matter of fact*, he finds, that those words *were* so understood and interpreted by the primitive Church, and that all change of substance by the consecration of the elements was even *totidem verbis* explicitly denied. See August. Enarr. in Psalm. xcvi. Oper. vol. viii. p. 397. Theodor. Dial. ii. Oper. vol. iv. p. 84, 85. Gelas. de duab. Christ. natur. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. iv. p. 422. Ephræm. Theopol. apud Phot. Bibl. cod. ccxxix. p. 794. Facund. Defens. Concil. Chalced. lib. ix. c. 5. Oper. p. 144.

(1.) On *this* ground, he rejects the doctrine of Transubstantiation : and, if historical testimony were *equally* strong against the doctrine of the Trinity, he would *equally* reject that doctrine also. For, in *that* case, he would feel assured, that the trinitarian exposition of Scripture *must* be erroneous : because the doctrine in question *could not* be scripturally true, if the Catholic Church had *invariably* disowned and rejected it *from the very beginning*.

(2.) But the very reverse of this is the fact, as will amply appear in the course of the present purely historical inquiry : nor has the modern Antitrinitarian any thing to oppose to such direct testimony, save the mere DOGMATICAL ASSERTION that *his own* private interpretation of Scripture *must* be the true interpretation.

4. In short, the protestant Catholic *rejects* the doctrine of Transubstantiation on the *precise* ground that he *admits* the doctrine of the Trinity.

(1.) If

and distinctly understood: *Whether the Apostles taught, that God exists only in one person, and that*

(1.) If the two doctrines stood on the *same* historical basis, he would perceive himself to have a direct PROOF, that each *alike* is propounded in Scripture. And thence he would also perceive, that he must either reject Scripture (which Dr. Channing professes to regard as of divine authority), or that he must receive them *both*. For *the direct proof of a fact* must always, in the very nature of evidence, outweigh *any private interpretation of Scripture*: because a private interpretation, resting, as it does, only on the mere opinion of the interpreter, may be erroneous; but a fact, established upon competent evidence, is incontrovertible.

(2.) On the loose and unsatisfactory principles of Dr. Channing, I would as little reject the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as I would reject the doctrine of the Trinity: because, on those principles, when I ask for PROOF that his interpretation of Scripture is correct, I have nothing more convincing than *his own* bare ASSERTION that it is correct.

He *happens* to be theologically right, indeed, in rejecting the doctrine of Transubstantiation: but, according to the just laws of *evidence*, based on his own admission, that, *Whatever Christ taught, either during his personal ministry, or by his inspired Apostles, must be regarded as of divine authority*; this is merely a *fortunate accident*.

The *ground*, on which he rejects it, is perfectly unsatisfactory: because, instead of being EVIDENTIAL, it is purely DOGMATICAL.

5. I am glad to make this statement, because Antitrinitarians are fond of intimating: that the doctrine of the Trinity is not better established than the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and that the same hermeneutic process will overturn *both*, when in truth it will overturn *neither*.

Christ was a mere man ; or Whether the Apostles taught, that God exists in three persons, and that Christ is both man and God.

This, as Dr. Priestley well judged, is, not AN ABSTRACT QUESTION OF REASONING, but A NAKED QUESTION OF FACT : and the *difference*, between the two systems of Humanitarian Antitrinitarianism and Divinitarian Trinitarianism, is so broadly marked and so positively determinate, that the primitive Church could not possibly have been mistaken, as to WHICH system was *really*, by the Apostles, delivered and inculcated.

(2.) Whether the Apostles, in what they *did* teach, taught the truth or not the truth : is nothing whatsoever to *The simple question of their* TEACHING, when that question is viewed as A NAKED QUESTION OF FACT.

He, that receives the Gospel as a divine revelation, will of course believe, that they *did* teach the truth : he, that rejects it, will equally of course believe, that their lessons are nothing better than a mere tissue of falsehood and imposture.

But, in either case, the BARE FACT, of *Their* TEACHING *this system of doctrine or that system of doctrine*, will remain altogether undisturbed. And, respecting *that* BARE FACT, the primitive Church, according to the very rational and satisfactory

decision of Dr. Priestley, *could not* have been mistaken.

2. Here, then, by the spontaneous admission of a leading Antitrinitarian himself, we have obtained
AN UNEXCEPTIONABLE UMPIRE.

(1.) The whole question now stands reduced to
A SIMPLE QUESTION OF HISTORICAL TESTIMONY.

If (just as we would ascertain any other point) we can, on sufficient evidence, ascertain the mere naked point; *WHAT scheme of doctrine, respecting the nature of God and the personal character of Christ, the primitive Church, on the professed ground that she had received it from the Apostles, invariably maintained and inculcated*: the dispute, between the modern Trinitarian and the modern Antitrinitarian, *ought* plainly, in all reason, to be brought to a termination.

For, as Dr. Priestley well remarks, *the TRUE doctrine, concerning the person of Christ, MUST be allowed to have been held by the Apostles*: and the same doctrine, as that which *they* held, *MUST have been received and maintained by their immediate disciples and successors*.

Hence, in historically ascertaining, *WHAT was taught by the Apostles, and WHAT from them was received by the primitive Church*: we historically ascertain, according to Dr. Priestley's own statement, *the indisputably TRUE doctrine*.

(2.) From *this* point, therefore, would we act rationally and consistently, all dispute must terminate.

On the ground, common alike to Trinitarians and to Antitrinitarians ; the ground, I mean, that CHRISTIANITY IS AN UNDOUBTED REVELATION FROM HEAVEN : on *this* common ground, the Apostles could not have taught *one* doctrine ; while the Bible, received and partly penned by *themselves*, inculcates quite *another* doctrine.

Most assuredly and most indisputably, WHATEVER the Apostles taught respecting the nature of God and of Christ, and whatever the primitive Church professedly received from them respecting such doctrinal matters : *that*, let it be what it may, MUST be the true import of the Bible.

If, by invincible historical testimony, we learn, that the Apostles taught, and that the primitive Church received from them, that precise scheme which constitutes the system of modern Antitrinitarianism : *then*, assuredly, the scheme of Trinitarianism will be utterly indefensible ; *then* that scheme must be rejected, as a manifest corruption of the original faith once delivered to the Saints ; *then* the doctors of the Unipersonal School must be recognised, as the only sound interpreters of Scripture.

But, if the reverse should prove to be the case :

if, by invincible historical testimony, we should learn, that the Apostles taught, and that the primitive Church received from them, the precise scheme which constitutes the theological system of modern Trinitarianism : *then*, no doubt, we shall be irresistibly brought to a directly opposite conclusion ; *then*, no doubt, the only sound interpreters of Scripture will be those, who, analagously to the ascertained primitive apostolical teaching, deduce from it the doctrines of the godhead of the man Jesus Christ and of the existence of a consubstantial Trinity of Persons in the mysterious Unity of the Divine Essence.

IV. In thus adducing external testimony as AN UMPIRE, let it not be said : that I am confessing the authority of SCRIPTURE ALONE to be *insufficient*.

1. Truly I am doing nothing of the sort.

Upon the mind of the honest inquirer it cannot be too often impressed : that *The dispute, between the modern Trinitarian and the modern Antitrinitarian, respects, not the AUTHORITY of Scripture, but its IMPORT.*

Therefore, as the AUTHORITY of Scripture is not the point under litigation : so, in the adduction of external testimony with respect to the true IMPORT of Scripture, I really do nothing more than what the very terms of the dispute inevitably require.

2. On the bare principle of lingual intelligibility, and on the reasonable presumption that God would not communicate a revelation of his own peculiar nature in terms which (by conventional phraseology) could not but be misunderstood, however firmly a Trinitarian may be *himself* persuaded, that Scripture, in its plain and natural sense, is decidedly ranged on *his* side of the question : still, *in actual controversy*, the firm persuasion of a Trinitarian will be no very effective argument with an Antitrinitarian, whose perhaps equally firm persuasion it is, that Scripture is ranged on the directly *opposite* side of the question.

Between the Trinitarian and the Antitrinitarian, the point litigated is THE VERY IMPORT OF SCRIPTURE.

Hence, however great may be the *scriptural* conviction of the Trinitarian *himself*, I cannot but deem it vain and useless for him to argue, *from* Scripture as to the IMPORT of Scripture, with an Antitrinitarian, who asserts, that every passage, probatively adduced by him, is erroneously interpreted.

Let him bring forward his *scriptural* evidence, with whatever supposed clearness, and with whatever complete conviction impressed upon *his own* mind : *still* his adversary contends, that the antitrinitarian view of Scripture is its only true view ; *still* contends, that, in biblical interpretation, his

own authority is decisive, at the very time when he assures us that the authorities of men are nothing; *still* contends, that all impartial inquirers must be particularly on their guard against what is called *the natural signification of words and phrases*¹.

*What, says Tertullian, will you gain, my thoroughly well read Scripturist: when, if you defend any position, that identical position shall be flatly denied; or, if you deny any position, that self-same position shall be strenuously defended? Truly, you will lose indeed nothing, save, through the labour of contention, the clearness of your voice: but then you will also gain nothing, save, through the blasphemies of your opponent, an abundant accession of bile*².

3. Under these circumstances, a *controversial*

¹ I subjoin the admonition of Mr. Belsham.

Impartial and sincere inquirers after truth must be PARTICULARLY upon their guard against what is called THE NATURAL SIGNIFICATION OF WORDS AND PHRASES. Belsham's *Calm Inquiry*, p. 5.

The admonition is, at least, a remarkable one. On this point, however, and on the real mind of Scripture as understood and explained by the primitive Church, see below, append. i. numb. 1.

² Quid promovebis, exercitatissime Scripturarum: cum, si quid defenderis, negetur ex diverso; si quid negaveris, defendatur? Et tu quidem nihil perdes, nisi vocem in contentione: nihil consequeris, nisi bilem de blasphematione. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæ. § 5. Oper. p. 101. Rhenan.

appeal to Scripture is rendered useless : for, THE VERY IMPORT OF SCRIPTURE being *itself* litigated, the parties have obviously no common ground of argument.

*Therefore, as Tertullian well remarks on a similar case, we must make no appeal to Scripture : nor must we, on Scripture, rest the stress of the contest*¹.

By the Trinitarian such an appeal must be abandoned, not from any acknowledgment of the *real insufficiency* of Scripture to decide the question, but from an experimental conviction of its *practical inefficiency*.

When THE VERY IMPORT OF SCRIPTURE is *itself* disputed, Scripture, as Tertullian rightly judged, can no longer be profitably employed as an umpire. Henceforth, the controversy respects THE TRUE MEANING OF GOD'S WORD : and it is vain to appeal to that word, when THE MEANING ITSELF OF GOD'S WORD is the very matter litigated².

¹ Ergo non ad Scripturas provocandum est : nec in his constituendum certamen. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæc. § 5. Oper. p. 101.

² Perhaps it may not be useless here to exhibit some specimens of modern antitrinitarian reasoning from Scripture : reasoning, which, however common, the Trinitarian ventures to esteem palpably inconclusive.

I. For the avowed purpose of establishing their own system and of subverting that of their opponents, it is a frequent prac-

4. What then remains, but to call in the testimony of History and to appeal to the voice of primitive Antiquity ?

tice with Antitrinitarians to adduce texts, which declare Christ to be a *man*.

1. But what has *this* to do with the *real* question : when, all the while, the identical humanity of Christ, as established by those very texts, is *professedly* a part of the doctrinal system maintained by the Trinitarians ?

2. By such a palpably superfluous process, which argues either a gross *Ignoratio Elenchi* or something much worse than such ignorance, the Antitrinitarian completely travels out of the record : for he merely *proves*, what the Trinitarian never thought of *denying*.

3. His *object* is, indeed, through the medium of those texts, to set aside the doctrine of Christ's divinity : but his *argument* is so grossly illogical, that even a child might expose its glaring inconclusiveness.

To say, that *Christ is NOT God BECAUSE he is man*, is, in truth, to beg the very matter in debate.

For the debate is : not *Whether Christ be true man* ; but *Whether Christ be true man and true God united*.

II. So likewise, for the purpose of confounding their antagonists, Antitrinitarians not unfrequently adduce texts, which declare the Son to be *inferior* to the Father.

1. But, here again, what has *this* to do with the *real* question : when, all the while, Trinitarians *themselves* expressly maintain the inferiority of the Son to the Father under certain specific and well defined aspects ?

2. With accurate thinkers, at least, I see not, how the cause of Antitrinitarianism is to be advanced by the controversial production of texts, which say nothing but what Trinitarians *them-*

In this way only, can we expect to obtain a distinct *controversial* PROOF, that any given interpretation really and correctly exhibits the genuine sense of Scripture : in this way only, with a determined antitrinitarian disputant, can the debate be beneficially conducted : in this way only, can we even *hope* to work any conviction in minds, which as claiming to be *exclusively* reasonable have long been accustomed to a particular line of exposition, and which thence not unnaturally view it as *alone* propounding the true mind of God's written revelation.

selves say, and which by Trinitarians *themselves* are EQUALLY cited for the avowed purpose of establishing their own doctrine that *Under certain aspects the Son is undoubtedly inferior to the Father.*

III. In a similar manner, for the purpose of confuting the doctrine of the Trinity, Antitrinitarians delight in quoting texts which assert *the Unity of God.*

1. But how is *this* to avail them : when, all the while, *God's Unity* is not the matter litigated ?

2. The true dispute respects, not *The Unity of God*, but *The precise mode of that Unity.*

Hence, to adduce texts, which teach only a doctrine maintained *alike* by Trinitarian and by Antitrinitarian, is nothing better than mere solemn trifling : for such a process leaves the *real* question exactly where it found it.

Every Trinitarian is an Unitarian : though every Unitarian is not a Trinitarian. The name *Unitarian* is common alike to both parties.

V. Nor is such a mode of conducting the debate by any means useless even to the sincere and devout Catholic.

1. A thought *must* sometimes cross his mind, as to the sentiments and the creed of that primitive Church which chronologically touched the age of the inspired and therefore doctrinally infallible Apostles.

2. He is convinced, indeed, *personally*, from Scripture ALONE : and he would be *personally* satisfied as to the truth of his system, even if he had no other book to resort to. But, still, he must inevitably perceive : that, in the very nature and necessity of things, if *his* view of Scripture be correct, the *same* must also have been the view taken of it by the Church Catholic from the beginning.

3. Hence his *personal* conviction will be greatly strengthened, and his mind will in no small degree be comforted, when, from the *extrinsic* and *independent* testimony of History, he shall have learned : that the very faith, for which he contends, is the identical faith once delivered to the saints by the inspired Apostles themselves.

VI. Thus, I think, will benefit result to the pious Catholic of whatever Church provincial or national.

The Catholic, however, of the Anglican Church, may justly, in a yet more especial manner, be

led to favour such a mode of conducting the inquiry. For the Anglican Church has always professed to build her code of doctrine, *authoritatively* indeed upon SCRIPTURE ALONE, but *hermeneutically* upon SCRIPTURE AS EXPLAINED BY PRIMITIVE ANTIQUITY ¹.

¹ Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation : so that, whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. Art. vi.

Ista nos didicimus a Christo, ab Apostolis, et sanctis Patribus : et eadem bona fide docemus populum Dei. Juell. Apol. Eccles. Anglican. apud Enchirid. Theologic. vol. i. p. 228.

A primitiva Ecclesia, ab Apostolis, a Christo, non discessimus. Ibid. p. 295.

Accessimus, quantum maximè potuimus, ad Ecclesiam Apostolorum et veterum catholicorum Episcoporum et Patrum :—nec tantum doctrinam nostram, sed etiam sacramenta, precumque publicarum formam, ad illorum ritus et instituta direximus.—Inde enim putavimus instaurationem petendam esse, unde prima Religionis initia ducta essent. *Hæc enim ratio*, inquit antiquissimus pater Tertullianus, *valet adversus omnes hæreses : Id esse verum, quodcunque primum ; id esse adulterum, quodcunque posterius*. Irenæus sæpe ad antiquissimas Ecclesias provocavit, quæ Christo fuissent viciniore, quasque credibile vix esset erravisse. Ibid. p. 323.

Nos, et ex Sacris Libris, quos scimus non posse fallere, certam quandam Religionis formam quæsisse ; et ad veterum Patrum atque Apostolorum primitivam Ecclesiam, hoc est, ad primordia atque initia, tanquam ad fontes, rediisse. Ibid. p. 340.

Opto,

Herein she has judged well and wisely.

SCRIPTURE and ANTIQUITY are the two pillars, upon which all rationally established Faith must ultimately repose.

If we reject SCRIPTURE, we reject the very basis of theological belief: if we reject ANTIQUITY, we reject historical evidence to soundness of interpretation.

When the two are combined, we attain to MORAL CERTAINTY: and, in matters which by their very nature admit not of mathematical proof, MORAL CERTAINTY is the highest point to which we can possibly attain¹.

VII. Lest, in the present day, this Work should be hastily deemed superfluous and supererogatory, I may be permitted to state: that its plan and

Opto, cum Melancthone et Ecclesia Anglicana, per canalem Antiquitatis deduci ad nos dogmata fidei e fonte Sacrae Scripturae derivata. Alioquin, quis futurus est novandi finis? Casaub. Epist. 744.

Quod si me conjectura non fallit, totius Reformationis pars integerrima est in Anglia: ubi, cum studio Veritatis, viget studium Antiquitatis. Casaub. Epist. 837.

Rex cum Ecclesia Anglicana pronunciat, eam demum se doctrinam pro vera simul et necessaria ad salutem agnoscere, quæ, e fonte Sacrae Scripturae manans, per consensum veteris Ecclesiae, ceu per canalem, ad hæc tempora fuerit derivata. Casaub. Epist. 838.

¹ See Bp. Stillingfleet's Rational Account of the grounds of Protest. Relig. part i. chap. 2. § 9. p. 59.

object differ essentially from the plans and objects of its predecessors.

1. Those, who wish distinctly to learn the *individual* opinions of the earlier ecclesiastical writers respecting the nature and character of our Lord ; I refer to the valuable Work of Dr. Burton, entitled *Testimonies of the Antenicene Fathers to the divinity of Christ*¹.

Dr. Burton and myself both aim *ultimately* at the same point. But our respective modes of conducting the inquiry are essentially, and indeed professedly, different.

(1.) *He* gives at large the *personal* sentiments of the leading individuals, who flourished anterior to the first Council of Nice, in regard to the nature and character of Christ. Whence the obvious inference is : that *The Catholic Church could not have held ONE doctrine, while these leading individuals held quite ANOTHER doctrine.*

(2.) *I*, on the contrary, have no concern with those leading individuals, in respect to the bare expression of their own *personal* sentiments. For *my* declared business is to adduce them, only so far as they are witnesses to the naked historical FACT : that *The Catholic Church at large, in the*

¹ Now Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. Feb. 2. 1830.

times when they severally flourished, held such or such a system of doctrine, on the professed ground of authoritative derivation from the Apostles. In other words, *my* object is to ascertain, on the ordinary legitimate principles of historical evidence: not what the individual Antenicene Fathers *themselves* believed, as to the nature of God and of Christ; but what was maintained and taught by *the entire primitive Church*, up to the very apostolic age, and on the very basis of avowed apostolic derivation.

2. To the well-read theologian, I need scarcely to remark: that the drift of Bishop Bull's great Work, *The Defence of the Nicene Faith*, differs yet again from the drift both of Dr. Burton's Work and of my own.

For the object of that profoundly learned Pre-late is to shew: that *The specific faith of the Nicene Creed, in regard to the four several points, of THE PRE-EXISTENCE and THE CONSUBSTANTIALITY and THE CO-ETERNITY and THE ECONOMICAL SUBORDINATION of the Son with reference to the Father, was invariably, from the very first, the faith of all the Antenicene Doctors.*

3. I may add: that, of the two shorter Treatises of Bishop Bull, his *Judgment of the Catholic Church*, like Dr. Waterland's Treatise on *The Importance of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity*, respects only *The necessity of believing that Christ is very God;*

while his *Primitive and Apostolic Tradition* is chiefly occupied in shewing, that, *As Justin Martyr borrowed not the doctrine of the Trinity from Platonism, so neither was he the first who introduced it into the alleged hitherto unipersonalising Church Catholic.*

VIII. From the various objects of all these Works, my own very simple object altogether differs.

1. That object is, nakedly and abstractedly, through the medium of whatever testimony I can collect, to establish, precisely as any other circumstance might by competent evidence be established, the bare historical FACT: that *The Catholic Church, which flourished in the age and under the immediate teaching of the Apostles themselves, received and maintained, on the avowed and express ground of apostolical authority, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity with the dependent doctrine of the theanthropic character of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

2. From the *establishment* of such a FACT, the *result* is obvious. But still I *profess* myself to be concerned with nothing more, than THE HISTORICAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FACT ITSELF.

LONG-NEWTON RECTORY,

Sept. 4. 1828.

POSTSCRIPT.

While these sheets were passing through the press, I had the pleasure of reading Dr. Burton's last Work, entitled *Testimonies of the Antenicene Fathers to the doctrine of the Trinity and of the divinity of the Holy Ghost*.

This Work as little interferes with my own plan, as his former very valuable Work. But, though even on that account alone it would have been proper for me to mention it : there is one particular, which, in vindication of myself, I may be permitted specially to notice.

Dr. Priestley alleges, that Origen thought it a matter of doubt, whether the Holy Spirit was not made by Christ : and, by way of proof, he adduces a passage from that writer's Commentary on the Gospel of St. John.

This passage, as it is cited by Dr. Priestley, I have given in Append. ii. numb. iii. § I. 2 : and I refuse to allow, that it affords any warrant for the allegation which has been built upon it.

In noticing the same passage, Dr. Burton, I readily admit, does not concede *all* that an Antitrinitarian might urge him to concede : for he states, that, in concurrence with Bishop Bull, he has ventured to question the justice of the attacks which have been made upon Origen, on the ground that he has used expressions concerning the Son and the Holy Ghost which are inconsistent with the orthodox notion of their divinity. Still, however, his language is such, as to import, that the present passage might well give occasion to a charge like that preferred by Dr. Priestley.

Such, says the learned Professor, *is this extraordinary, and, I must add, unfortunate, passage of Origen, which I have quoted at*

length, and have endeavoured to translate with the utmost fairness. If the reader should decide from it, that Origen did not believe the eternity of the Holy Ghost; he will think, that the enemies of Origen were not without grounds when they questioned his orthodoxy. It is not my intention entirely to exculpate him. Testimon. of Antenic. Fathers, p. 101.

The entire passage, in the original Greek, runs as follows.

Ἡμεῖς μέντοιγε τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις πειθόμενοι τυγχάνειν, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἀγέννητον μηδὲν ἕτερον τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι πιστεύοντες, ὥς εὐσεβέστερον καὶ ἀληθές, προσιέμεθα τὸ, πάντων διὰ τοῦ Λόγου γενομένων, τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα πάντων εἶναι τιμιώτερον, καὶ τάξει πάντων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ γεγενημένων. Καὶ τάχα αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ αἰτία τοῦ μὴ καὶ αὐτουὶὸν χρηματίζειν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μόνου τοῦ μονογενοῦς φύσει Υἱοῦ ἀρχῆθεν τυγχάνοντος, οὗ χρήζειν ἔοικε τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, διακοροῦντος αὐτοῦ τῇ ὑποστάσει, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφὸν εἶναι καὶ λογικὸν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ πᾶν ὅτιποτοῦν χρὴ αὐτὸ νοεῖν τυγχάνειν, κατὰ μετοχὴν τῶν προειρημένων ἡμῖν Χριστοῦ ἐπινοιωῶν.

Of this passage I give the following translation, which, in one single place, differs from that of Dr. Burton.

We, however, being persuaded that there are three hypostases the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and believing that nothing is unproduced beside the Father, adopt this, as the more pious and the true opinion: that, all things being made by the Word, the Holy Ghost is more honourable than all of them, and more so in rank than all the things which were made by the Father through Christ. And perhaps this is the reason, why he is not also called the very Son of God, the Only-Begotten alone being the Son by nature from the beginning, who seems to have been needful to the Holy Ghost, ministering to his hypostasis, not only that he might exist, but also that he might be wise and rational

and just and whatever else it be right for us to suppose him to be, according to his participation in those qualities which we have before mentioned as belonging to Christ.

The place, where I differ from Dr. Burton, is in my view of the expression, διακονοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῇ ὑποστάσει. I have rendered it, *ministering to his hypostasis*: he translates it, *to have assisted in forming his hypostasis*.

Now Dr. Burton's translation strikes me, as involving an unnecessary concession: and I submit, whether my own rendering be not more literally correct.

So far as I can judge, Origen is in no wise denying the eternity of the Holy Ghost; neither does he speak of his having been made by Christ, as Dr. Priestley pretends: he merely, I apprehend, distinguishes between the *generation* of the Son and what is called the *procession* of the Holy Ghost. God the Father, being alone (as the early ecclesiastics speak) *God of himself* and *The Fountain of Deity*, is the cause of derivative existence to the Son: and the Son, conjointly with the Father, is the cause of derivative existence to the Spirit. For the three divine hypostases are mutually consubstantial: and, though the Father, in point of order, is ultimately the root or fountain both of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; yet, the Father being eternal, every emanation from him is eternal likewise, just as the emanating light of the solar orb would be eternal, if the solar orb itself were eternal.

This, I think, when Origen is compared both with himself and with the declared doctrine of the early Catholic Church at large, is the fair and natural and obvious import of the passage: nor do I perceive any reason, why a different sense should be ascribed to it.

In truth, there is so remarkable an affinity of Origen's language respecting the Holy Ghost to Justin's language respecting the Son, that, so far as I can discern, we might as well suppose

that Justin defines the Son to have been created by the Father as that Origen defines the Spirit to have been created by the Son.

Origen says : that *The Son ministers to the hypostasis of the Spirit, both in order to his existence, and in order to his having wisdom and reason and righteousness.*

Justin says : that *The Lord, as Father and God, is to the Son the cause, both of his existence, and also of his being powerful and Lord and God.*

In the original Greek, Origen says : Διακονοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῇ ὑποστάσει, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφὸν εἶναι καὶ λογικὸν καὶ δίκαιον.

In the original Greek, Justin says : Κύριός ἐστιν, ὡς Πατὴρ καὶ Θεός, αἵτιός τε αὐτῷ τοῦ εἶναι, καὶ δυνατῷ καὶ Κυρίῳ καὶ Θεῷ. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 281.

I contend for nothing more, than a fair homogeneous catholic interpretation of each of the two manifestly parallel passages.

March 19, 1832.

A T A B L E,

Exhibiting at one view the several years, about which the early witnesses to the doctrines of the Trinity and of Christ's god-head, from the first Council of Nice up to the era of our Lord's crucifixion, may be considered as flourishing : with references to the several places of the present Work, in which they are adduced.

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ERRATA.

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- Page xlv, line 8, *for* "analagously" *read* "analogously"
- 29, — 3, note, erase the comma after " συζητήσεως "
- 140, — 8, insert a comma after " Son," and erase the comma after " as "
- 141, — 4, note, *for* the period after " νοῦς," substitute a semicolon
- 303, — 16, *for* "text" *read* "test"
- 342, — 2, *for* "Θεν" *read* "Θεὸν"
- 367, — 18, *for* "luci" *read* "loci"
- 398, — 28, *for* "sæculi," *read* "sæculi."
- 399, — 13, *for* "sæculorum," *read* "sæculorum "

BOOK I.

EVIDENCE TO THE FACT OF THE POSITIVE ANTIQUITY AND THE APOSTOLICAL INCULCATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY TRINITY.

The true doctrine, concerning the person of Christ, must be allowed to have been held by the Apostles. They, no doubt, knew, whether their Master was only a man like themselves, or their Maker. Their immediate disciples would receive and maintain the same doctrine that they held: and it must have been some time, before any other could have been introduced and have spread to any extent; and, especially, before it could have become the prevailing opinion. Priestley's Reply to Animad. Introd. sect. iv. Works vol. xviii. p. 23.

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πίστιν· καὶ εἰς ἓνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας· καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον.—Ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ Σωτῆρι, καὶ Βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου, πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων—Τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρεληφνῆα καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν, ὡς προέφαιμεν, ἡ Ἐκκλησία, καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη, ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἓνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. i. c. 2, 3. p. 34—36. Edit. 1570.



CHAPTER I.

A GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE ARGUMENT.

IN the abstract, a doctrine, which *at present* exists in the Church of Christ, may either possess a POSITIVE ANTIQUITY, or may be unable to establish its claim to any thing more than A MERE RELATIVE ANTIQUITY.

For, in the abstract, until the matter be determined by adequate historical testimony, a doctrine, which *now* exists in the Church of Christ, may either have existed *IN the age and* THROUGH *the teaching of the Apostles*, or it may have begun to exist SUBSEQUENT *to the age and therefore* WITHOUT *the teaching of the Apostles*.

I. Now, respecting the doctrine of the Trinity and those subordinate doctrines which are immediately dependent upon it ; such as the incarnation of the Word, and the proper divinity no less than the proper humanity of Christ, and the personality and godhead of the Holy Ghost : there is a dispute, which, with reference to the terms POSITIVE and RELATIVE as I have here distinctively em-

ployed them, immediately regards THE QUESTION OF ANTIQUITY.

Those, who hold the doctrine of the Trinity as an undoubted scriptural truth, contend: that its antiquity is POSITIVE; inasmuch as it existed in the Apostolic age and was taught by the inspired Apostles themselves.

But those, who reject the doctrine of the Trinity as forming no part of scriptural revelation, contend: that its antiquity is merely RELATIVE; inasmuch as it sprang up subsequent to the apostolic age, was never taught by the Apostles, and was in truth the grand and palmary and especial corruption of primitive Christianity.

II. Under this aspect, it is obvious: that THE QUESTION OF ANTIQUITY, in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity, becomes A QUESTION OF PURE HISTORICAL TESTIMONY; a question, therefore, which, like any other question of a similar nature, must be settled by the adduction of competent evidence.

The moral demonstration, then, if, on just principles, such a demonstration be practicable, that THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY WAS THE DOCTRINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE VERY AGE AND THROUGH THE VERY TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES THEMSELVES, being, in fact, the moral demonstration of A MERE POINT OF HISTORY; this demonstration may assuredly be conducted by an intelligent Deist who simply wishes to determine *a curious* HISTORICAL question, just as well as by the most devout be-

liever in Christianity who is anxious to ascertain *the genuine DOCTRINE of the Gospel* : for the demonstration itself, even when most abundantly effected, is still, in absolute strictness of speech, nothing more than *the moral demonstration of a remarkable historical FACT*.

Doubtless, by the very tenor of its purport, *the establishment of such a FACT* involves *the existence of a particular DOCTRINE under particular circumstances*. But, still, the *ascertained historical truth of the FACT* does not, of necessity, require *the admission of the theological truth of the DOCTRINE*. For, abstractedly, the truth of the FACT may have been historically demonstrated ; and yet the DOCTRINE itself may be theologically untrue : because *the demonstration of the truth of the FACT* depends only upon the general principles of testimony ; whereas *the establishment of the truth of the DOCTRINE* rests upon the divine origination of Christianity¹.

¹ My meaning may be aptly illustrated by the case of the ancient doctrine of the Metempsychosis.

We admit *the truth of the FACT*, that *this tenet was maintained and taught by the Druids* : but we do not, therefore, admit also *the truth of the DOCTRINE*.

Now why do we admit the one and reject the other ?

Clearly, because *the demonstration of the FACT* depends upon the general principles of testimony : while *the truth of the DOCTRINE* can only rest upon the divine origination of Druidism. The FACT being once established on sufficient evidence, if we believed Druidism to be a divine revelation, we should of course

Such being the case, a Deist, who altogether denies the divine authority of revelation, may *admit* the FACT, while he *rejects* the DOCTRINE. But a Christian, who allows the divine authority of revelation, cannot consistently *reject* the DOCTRINE, if he *admit* the FACT.

This diversity of opinion, however, in regard to *the theological truth of the DOCTRINE*, will by no means impede the most perfect mutual agreement in regard to *the historical truth of the FACT*: the bare FACT, I mean, that *The DOCTRINE itself existed, during a particular period, and in a particular community, and under a particular sanction*. For, if the evidence be sufficient, the Deist and the Christian will *alike* admit the FACT; however different, in consequence of their essentially different views of revelation, will be their respective estimates of the DOCTRINE.

III. Now the discussion, into which I purpose to enter, is purely the historical discussion of evidence to a FACT: a FACT, simply *as a FACT, asserted* by those who admit, *denied* by those who reject,

admit the truth of the DOCTRINE. But we reject the DOCTRINE, though we admit the FACT, because we do *not* allow Druidism to be a divine revelation. Thus we reject the DOCTRINE and admit the FACT, because *the truth of the DOCTRINE and the truth of the FACT* severally rest upon two entirely different foundations. *The truth of the FACT* has been historically proved on adequate testimony: but *the truth of the DOCTRINE* can only be proved by an anterior demonstration of the divine origin and authority of Druidism.

the doctrine of the Trinity ; these two classes of religionists, meanwhile, *alike* professing to receive Christianity itself as a divine revelation.

The consequence of the establishment of this FACT, if it be historically capable of establishment, is indeed, so far as professed believers in Christianity are concerned, sufficiently manifest : *The believer, who admits the FACT, will be compelled also to admit the DOCTRINE.* But, still, my special and peculiar concern, just as it might have been the special and peculiar concern of an infidel historian who merely wished to give an honest and impartial account of the primitive Church, is with *the naked FACT itself.*

In the following discussion, therefore, my object (let it be distinctly understood and remembered) is not *directly to inquire into the theological truth of the DOCTRINE of the Trinity :* but my object is *to examine, simply on the principles of historical evidence, whether, in point of FACT, that DOCTRINE was, or was not, the doctrine of the Catholic Church, in the age and under the immediate sanction of the Apostles.*

IV. In prosecuting this examination, I have no particular concern with the individually expressed *opinions* of mere insulated individuals, who flourished during the early ages of Christianity.

My sole purpose is, to collect and to produce *evidence*, in regard to the universally received doctrine of the strictly primitive Church of our

Lord Jesus Christ. In other words, my sole purpose is, to establish, if it *can* be established, THE FACT OF THE POSITIVE ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY, as contradistinguished from THE FACT OF ITS MERELY RELATIVE ANTIQUITY.

With this object, I shall take my station upon the first Nicene Council in the year 325 : and, thence, in several different lines of evidence, I shall try ; whether it be practicable to work my way up to the apostolic age itself.

Should I be able to effect such a design ; and should I also be able to remove certain historical objections, which have been started by the writers of the Humanitarian School : the then evidentially demonstrated faith of the Catholic Church, in the very age and under the very sanction of the Apostles, will be our best guide in the just interpretation of Scripture.

For it is, I think, quite clear : that *The earliest Faith whatever it may be, and Holy Scripture when justly interpreted, cannot but perfectly and mutually correspond.*

CHAPTER II.

RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY AFFORDED, BY THE FIRST
NICENE COUNCIL, TO THE FACT OF THE POSITIVE
ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

THE testimony to THE HISTORICAL FACT OF THE POSITIVE ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY, afforded by the distinct and specific declaration of the Fathers of the first Nicene Council assembled in the year 325, is full and express : and, when I consider how that Council was assembled and constituted, I cannot but esteem such testimony to be of no small value and importance.

I. More than three hundred Bishops, personally or by their proxies, met together, from all parts of the Christian World, at Nice in Bithynia¹.

¹ By reason of his advanced age and manifold infirmities, the Bishop of Rome was not present at the Council. Hence his two Presbyters, Vitus and Vincent, appeared as his proxies : and, on his behalf, subscribed the acts and decisions of that Assembly. Labb. Concil. vol. ii. p. 50. Theodor. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 7. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 17. Paris. 1673, 1686.

For, in this great and really Ecumenical Council, through the agency of their several Prelates, were represented, according to the order of subscription, the various Churches of Spain, Italy, Egypt, the Thebais, Libya, Palestine, Phœnicia, Cœlo-Syria, Lydia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Lycia, Pamphylia, the Greek Islands, Caria, Isauria, Cyprus, Bithynia, Europa, Dacia, Mysia, Macedonia, Achaia, Thesaly, Calabria, Africa, Dardania, Dalmatia, Pannonia, the Gauls, Gothia, Bosphorus ¹.

¹ Labb. Concil. vol. ii. p. 50—54. The *exact* number of Bishops, who were present at the first Nicene Council, cannot perhaps be ascertained : but they are generally described as exceeding three hundred. I subjoin the several accounts of this matter.

1. Eusebius states, that more than 250 Prelates attended ; who were accompanied by an infinite multitude of Presbyters and Deacons and Acolyths. Euseb. de vit. Constant. lib. iii. c. 8. Paris. 1678.

2. Athanasius, in one place, says, that there were present more or less than 300 Bishops : but, in another place, he definitely specifies their number to have been 317. Athan. Synod. Nicen. cont. hæc. Arian. decret. Oper. vol. i. p. 402. Athan. ad African. Epist. Oper. vol. i. p. 718. Commel. 1600.

3. Socrates, first, indefinitely says, that more than 300 Bishops were present : and, afterward, definitely states, that 318 attended. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 8. Paris. 1686.

4. Ruffinus tells us, that the number of Bishops at the Council was 318. Ruffin. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 1. Basil. 1611.

5. Theodoret also tells us, that 318 Bishops were present. Theodor. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 7.

6. And Sozomen states, that about 320 Bishops attended, with no small number of Presbyters and Deacons. Sozom. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 17.

These Bishops, thus variously collected out of provinces and regions widely separated from each other, concurred: not only in nakedly maintaining, as scriptural truth, the DOCTRINE of the Trinity; but also in explicitly asserting the historical FACT, that *Their doctrine had invariably been the doctrine of the Catholic Church, from the very age, and by the very teaching, of the Apostles themselves.*

Now, when we recollect, that this great Council sat, but little more than three centuries after the christian era, and but little more than two centuries after the death of St. John: it will appear incredible, whatever precise DOCTRINE its members might wish to establish, that more than three hundred eminent persons, assembled together, as the representatives of the Catholic Church, out of Europe and Asia and Africa, should have dared, in the face of the whole world, to assert, as a FACT, what, at that early period, if untrue, must have been universally *known* to be untrue.

Yet, such a FACT, these numerous individuals, thus variously and widely collected, from Spain to Pamphylia, and from Gaul to Libya, *did* assert. And it does not appear: that the Arians, on account of whom the Council was specially assembled, however they might labour to explain away the ancient Creeds in point of DOCTRINE, and however they might object to the stubborn word *Consubstantial* which to preclude the possibility of

evasion was introduced into the Nicene Creed, ventured to contradict the FACT so openly and so unequivocally alleged by the Catholics ¹.

II. With respect to the simple circumstance of the direct allegation of this FACT on the part of

¹ Out of the multitude of Bishops who attended the Council, some few favoured the novel speculation of Arius, and thence were unwilling to subscribe the Creed after the word *CONSUBSTANTIAL* had been introduced.

Respecting this matter, there is some variety of statement, which I here subjoin.

1. Socrates says, that, out of the 318 Bishops who were present, all, save 5, subscribed: namely Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicèa, Maris of Chalcedon, Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais, who objected to the word *CONSUBSTANTIAL*. *Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 8.*

2. Athanasius tells us, that Eusebius of Nicomedia and his companions did at length subscribe, though they afterward retracted. *Athan. Synod. Nicen. cont. hæc. Arian. decret. Oper. vol. i. p. 402.*

3. According to Ruffinus, 17 Bishops arianised: of whom, 6 held to their opinions; while 11 subscribed, though dishonestly. He adds, that Eusebius of Nicomedia was the chief author and instigator of their dissimulation. *Ruffin. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 5.*

4. Theodoret says, that they all finally subscribed except two: namely, Secundus and Theonas. *Theod. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 7.*

5. But, according to Sozomen, Secundus at length assented: for he says, that Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis, Maris, Patrophilus, and Secundus, all finally subscribed to the form which contained the word *CONSUBSTANTIAL*. *Sozom. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 20, 21.*

the Nicene Fathers ; the FACT, to wit, that *Their doctrinal system had invariably been the doctrinal system of the whole Catholic Church, from the very age, and by the very teaching of the Apostles themselves* : for *this* simple circumstance, we have the most full and the most ample testimony.

On the one hand, we have the distinct evidence of Eusebius, as preserved by the three ecclesiastical historians Socrates and Theodoret and Gelasius : and, on the other hand, we have the positive declaration of the collective Nicene Fathers themselves, formally delivered during the actual session of the Council.

1. In his historical Epistle to his own Church of Cesarèa, Eusebius unequivocally states : that THE BROAD ALLEGATION OF THE PRESENT FACT constituted the very PRINCIPLE, on which the Nicene Fathers avowedly proceeded in their definition of sound Christian Doctrine.

As we have received from the Bishops our predecessors, both in our first catechumenical instruction, and afterward at the time of our baptism ; and as we have learned from the Holy Scriptures ; and as, both in our Presbyterate and in our Episcopate itself, we have both believed and taught : thus also now believing, we expound to you our Faith.

But that Faith runs, in manner following.

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the maker of all things both visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of

God ; God from God, Light from Light, Life from Life ; the only-begotten Son, born before the whole creation, begotten from the Father before all worlds ; through whom, likewise, all things were made : who, for our salvation, became incarnate, and was conversant among men, and suffered ; and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and will come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead.

We believe also in one Holy Ghost, truly the Holy Ghost : as also our Lord, when sending out his disciples to preach, said ; Go and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

Concerning which things, we firmly pronounce, anathematising every godless heresy : both that they thus are ; and that we thus think ; and, again, that we have always thus thought ; and, yet additionally, that we will insist upon this Faith even until death.

Furthermore, in the presence of God Almighty and of our Lord Jesus Christ, we testify : that, ever since we knew ourselves, we have always, from our heart and from our soul, thus thought respecting these matters ; and that we now think the same ; and that we speak truly.

For, by sure demonstrations, we are able to shew and to persuade you : that, in times past also, we thus believed and preached.

This Faith, accordingly, having been by us expounded, there was no room for contradiction.

But our most religious Prince, himself the first, testified: that he rightly embraced it. And he both confessed, that he himself thus believed: and he likewise charged, that all should assent, and should subscribe the decrees, and should agree with them.

That single word CONSUBSTANTIAL was alone written additionally: and this word he himself explained as follows.

The Son is not asserted to be consubstantial with the Father, according to the passions of material bodies. Nor is he alleged to subsist, through any division or abscission from the Father. For that, which is immaterial and intellectual and incorporeal, cannot undergo bodily passion. But, such points as these, we ought to receive in words divine and unutterable.

Thus did our most wise and pious Prince philosophise. But, on account of the introduction of the word CONSUBSTANTIAL, they composed this following written document.

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; begotten only-begotten from the Father, that is, from the substance of the Father; God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God; begotten, not created; consubstantial with the Father; through whom all things were made, both things in heaven, and things in earth: who, on account of us men and of our salvation, descended,

and became incarnate, and was made man ; suffered, was buried, and rose again on the third day ; ascended into the heavens ; is coming to judge the quick and the dead.

We believe also in the Holy Ghost.

But those, who say, that there was a time when the Son existed not, and that he existed not before he was begotten, and that he was made out of things which are not ; or who say, that he was from any other person or substance ; or who teach, that the Son of God was created, or was vertible, or was mutable : these persons the Apostolic and Catholic Church anathematises ¹.

¹ Καθὼς παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κατηχήσει, καὶ ὅτε τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν, καὶ καθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν, καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπιστενόμεν τε καὶ ἐδιδάσκομεν· οὕτω καὶ νῦν πιστεύοντες, τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν ὑμῖν προφέρομεν. Ἔστι δὲ αὕτη.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς, υἱὸν μονογενῆ, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένον, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα· τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα, καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἥξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἓν Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, ἀληθῶς Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον· καθὼς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀποστέλλων εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς, εἶπε· Πορευθέντες, μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

Such is the account which Eusebius gives of the PRINCIPLE, avowedly and systematically acted upon by the Fathers of the first Nicene Council.

Περὶ ὧν καὶ διαβεβαιούμεθα οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ οὕτω φρονεῖν, καὶ πάλιν οὕτως ἐσχηκέναι, καὶ μέχρι θανάτου ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἐνίστασθαι τῆς πίστεως, ἀναθεματίζοντες πᾶσαν ἄθεον αἵρεσιν. Ταῦτα ἀπὸ καρδίας καὶ ψυχῆς πάντως πεφρονηκέναι, ἐξ οὐπερ ἔγνωμεν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ νῦν φρονεῖν τε, καὶ λέγειν ἐξ ἀληθείας, ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρούμεθα, δεικνύναι ἔχοντες καὶ δι' ἀποδείξεων πείθειν ἡμᾶς, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς παρεληλυθότας χρόνους οὕτως ἐπιστεύομεν τε καὶ ἐκηρύσσομεν.

Ταύτης ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐκτεθείσης τῆς πίστεως, οὐδενὶ παρῆν ἀντιλογίας τόπος. Ἄλλ' αὐτός τε πρῶτος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς ὀρθότατα περιέχειν αὐτὴν ἐμαρτύρησεν· οὕτω τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν φρονεῖν συνωμολόγησε, καὶ ταύτῃ τοὺς πάντας συγκατατίθεσθαι, ὑπογράφειν τε τοῖς δόγμασι, καὶ συμφωνεῖν τοῦτοις αὐτοῖς παρεκελεύετο, ἐνὸς μόνου προσεγγραφέντος ῥήματος τοῦ ὉΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΥ, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ ἡρμήνευσεν, λέγων· ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὰ τῶν σωμάτων πάθη λέγοιτο τῷ Πατρὶ ὁμοούσιος, οὔτε κατὰ διαίρεσιν, οὔτε κατὰ τινὰ ἀποτομὴν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὑποστῆναι· μηδὲ γὰρ δύνασθαι τὴν αὔλον καὶ νοερὰν καὶ ἀσώματον φύσιν σωματικόν τι πάθος ὑφίστασθαι· θείοις δὲ καὶ ἀπορρήτοις λόγοις προσήκειν τὰ τοιαῦτα νοεῖν.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ἡμῶν καὶ εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς τὰ τοιάδε ἐφιλοσόφει· οἱ δὲ προφάσει τῆς τοῦ ὉΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΥ προσθήκης, τήνδε τὴν γραφὴν πεποιήκασι.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν. Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἔκ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν οὐρανῷ, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ γῇ· τὸν, δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν,

THEY PROFESSED TO DELIVER NOTHING NEW.

Hence they alleged, as a notorious FACT : that
They propounded no doctrine, save what they them-

κατελθόντα, καὶ σαρκωθέντα, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Καὶ εἰς τὸ "Ἁγιον Πνεῦμα.

Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἀποστολικὴ καὶ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Euseb. Pamphil. Epist. ad Eccles. Cæsar. Palæst. apud Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 8. Theodorit. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 12. Gelas. Cyzic. Hist. Concil. Nicæen. prim. lib. ii. c. 34, 35. in Labb. Concil. vol. ii. p. 253—256.

There has been a dispute, respecting the proper translation of the word ὑποστάσεως, as it occurs in the anathema at the close of the Nicene Creed : a dispute, namely, whether it ought to be rendered *substance* or *person*.

I. In favour of the version *substance*, it may be alleged : that, previous to the first Nicene Council, the word ὑπόστασις was indifferently used in the sense either of *person* or of *substance*.

Hence, by those who prefer the version *substance*, it may be urged : that the members of the Council do, in reality, explain the word ὑπόστασις, as it is *here* used by them, by the word οὐσία or *substance* ; for they say, ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας, *from any other hypostasis* OR *usia*.

The meaning, therefore, of the clause, according to *this* exposition, will be : that, to cut off all occasion of verbal dispute, the Council, in their anathema, censure those, who assert, that *The Son is from some other SUBSTANCE than the Father* ; whether, to express the idea of *substance*, they use the word ὑπόστασις or the word οὐσία.

II. But, in favour of the version *person*, it may be alleged : not only that the members of the Council, speaking through the

selves had learned in the course of their catechumenical institution, save what had been handed down

mouth of Hosius and Leontius, use, in the very Acts of the Synod, the word *ὑπόστασις* in the sense of *person*, as appears from the expression *τριάς ὑποστάσεων*; but likewise that, in the anathema, the two words *ὑποστάσεως* and *οὐσίας* are *designedly* introduced in the two distinct senses of *person* and *substance*, that so the speculations of both the Arians and the Semiarians might be *alike* specifically condemned.

1. Of these two sects, the several speculations ran, as follows.

(1.) The Arians roundly asserted: that *The Son, whatever might be his præminent relative dignity, was still, like all other creatures made out of nothing*; or, as the anathema accurately expresses the opinion, *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο*.

(2.) The Semiarians more moderately declared: that *The Son was not created out of nothing*; but that, *By an ineffable generation, he was born from the ὑπόστασις or PERSON of the Father*. Yet, while they allowed, that *He was born from the ὑπόστασις or PERSON of the Father*: they denied, through some paradoxical refinement, that *He was born from the Father's οὐσία or SUBSTANCE*.

2. Now it may be fairly alleged: that, in the two distinct senses of *person* and *substance*, the two words *ὑποστάσεως* and *οὐσίας* have been *designedly* employed, for the express purpose of alike condemning *both* these two modifications of Arianism. Whence, according to *this* exposition, the clause itself will run thus: *Or who should say, that he was born from other PERSON or SUBSTANCE (ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας), than the PERSON or SUBSTANCE of the Father*.

(1.) The Semiarians allowed; that *He was not born from any other PERSON, than the PERSON of the Father*: but they denied; that *He was born from the Paternal SUBSTANCE*.

Hence, though they would escape the force of the word *ὑποστάσεως*, they would experience that of the word *οὐσίας*.

to them from their predecessors, save what they had always taught to their several flocks during the times of both their Presbyterate and their Episcopate.

(2.) The Arians, on the contrary, denied altogether: that *He was born, either from the PERSON, or from the SUBSTANCE, of the Father.*

Hence, in each of the two words ὑποστάσεως and οὐσίας, their condemnation was alike involved.

III. After attentively considering the question under all its bearings, I incline, on the whole, to prefer the version *person*: and, accordingly, I have so rendered the word ὑποστάσεως in my translation.

IV. It may be useful to remark: that, even after the Council of Nice, the word ὑπόστασις was always duly reclaimed by the Catholics in its sense of *substance*, whenever the Arians, sheltering themselves under that sense, attempted thus to evade the decision of the great Synod.

1. The members of the Nicene Council had defined the Deity to be, τριάδα ὑποστάσεων, *a triad of hypostases*: by which phrase *they* meant, *a triad of personal subsistences, or a triad of distinct though unseparated persons.*

2. Upon this, the Arians, availing themselves of a sense which ὑπόστασις had once theologically borne *in common* with οὐσία, stated, without hesitation: that they freely acknowledged the Father and the Son and the Spirit to be three distinct *hypostases*. But then, by this *apparent* concession, they *really* meant: not that the Father and the Son and the Spirit are three *persons* (which, in *their* use of the word ὑποστάσεων, was the doctrine *intended* to be conveyed by the Catholics); but that they are three distinct, and mutually different, *substances*. Consequently, by such verbal management, they made the language of the Catholics *deny* that precise doctrine of CONSUBSTANTIALITY, which, all the while, in the *intention* of the Catholics, it was strenuously *affirming*.

Into the more ancient Creed, the single word CONSUBSTANTIAL, indeed, they acknowledged themselves to have introduced : and this addition they avowedly and openly made, for the purpose of effectually meeting the endless subterfuges of the Arians.

But, though the precise *word* CONSUBSTANTIAL might not hitherto have appeared in any Symbol formally adopted by the whole Catholic Church : the *doctrine*, set forth in that word, was distinctly

3. This not very honest evasion, of the well known *intentional* meaning of an originally ambiguous term, led the Council of Sardica to the best settler of all disputes, *accurate definition*.

With express reference to the verbal shuffling of the Arian Party, the members of that Council were led distinctly to state : that, if *ὑπόστασις* be used in the sense of *person*, there are, in *that* case, *three* hypostases in the one undivided Godhead ; but that, if it be used in the sense of *substance*, there is, *then*, in the Godhead, no more than *one* hypostasis.

Τὸ τῶν αἰρετικῶν σύστημα φιλονεικεῖ, διαφόρους εἶναι τὰς ὑποστάσεις τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος, καὶ εἶναι κεχωρισμένας. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ταύτην παρειλήφαμεν καὶ δεδιδάγμεθα, καὶ ταύτην ἔχομεν τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν παράδοσιν καὶ πίστιν καὶ ὁμολογίαν, μίαν εἶναι ὑπόστασιν, ἣν αὐτοὶ οἱ αἰρετικοὶ οὐσίαν προσαγορεύουσι, τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος. Epist. Synod. Patr. Sardic. apud Theodorit. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 8.

Here, we may observe, the Catholic theologians of Sardica, when the evasions of the Arians had rendered it necessary, asserted the CONSUBSTANTIALITY of the Father and the Son and the Spirit through the medium of a definition of the word *ὑπόστασις*, just as strongly as their predecessors of Nice had asserted it through the medium of the perfectly univocal word *οὐσία*.

propounded in the older universally recognised Symbols. Accordingly, they themselves adduced one of those ancient Symbols, as containing the theological system handed down to them from their predecessors.

If, as that primitive Creed taught, Christ be God from God, as light is from light : then, assuredly, he must be *consubstantial* with the Father. For, unless, by virtue of the illustrative comparison, *this* be admitted : we must, in dealing with that comparison, prepare ourselves to assert ; that light emanating from light is *not* of the same substance with the light from which it emanates.

Moreover, though the Nicene Fathers confessedly introduced into their Symbol the word CONSUBSTANTIAL ; they were, in no wise, the original inventors of such phraseology.

The very terms SUBSTANCE and CONSUBSTANTIAL, no less than the doctrine conveyed by those terms, had long been familiar both to the Greeks and to the Latins. And I may add : that even their introduction into the Nicene Creed could, with no justice, be censured as an unwarrantable innovation ; since, for the express purpose of describing the nature of the Son relatively to the nature of the Father, the latter of the two terms had been repeatedly employed in the more ancient Ecthesis of the Council of Antioch which sat in the year 269¹.

¹ For an account of this Ecthesis, see below, book ii. chap. 10. § II. 1, and append. ii. numb. 1.

2. As the whole body of the Nicene Fathers, in the very act of propounding their own Symbol amplified only by the addition of the single word CONSUBSTANTIAL, unanimously, according to the express statement of Eusebius, declared themselves to have received the doctrine of the Trinity as set forth in the more ancient Symbol which they produced, both in their first catechumenical instruction, and afterward at the time of their baptism, and again during the entire term both of their Presbyterate and their Episcopate; appealing confidently to the whole world, whether they had not always invariably taught and preached and delivered that identical doctrine: so, at the close of a long disputation with those, who, during the session of the Council, appeared on the part of the Arians, they positively asserted, as a notorious and incontrovertible FACT; that *The doctrine, which they maintained and taught, was uninterruptedly derived from the Lord himself through the communicative medium of the Apostles.*

Their assertion, as expressed in their own precise words, runs in manner following.

This is the apostolic and blameless faith of the Church: which faith, ultimately derived from the Lord himself through the Apostles, and handed down from our forefathers to their successors, the Church religiously preserves, and maintains the same both now and for ever: inasmuch as the Lord said to the disciples; Go and teach all nations, baptizing them

*in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost*¹.

III. Thus, in two several passages, we have the attestation of full three hundred responsible individuals, collected out of all parts of the World little more than three centuries after the christian era and little more than two centuries after the death of St. John, to A NAKED HISTORICAL FACT: the FACT, namely; that *The doctrines, maintained in the first Council of Nice, were the doctrines, which they themselves had always taught, which in the course of their catechumenical institution they had learned from their predecessors, which they had openly professed at the time of their baptism, which in the several lines of their respective Churches had invariably been handed down from one spiritual generation to another, which had been received on the authority of the Apostles, and which the Apostles had ultimately derived from the Lord himself.*

1. Now, whatever we may think of the DOCTRINES maintained and propounded by the Nicene Fathers; whether we receive them as true, or

¹ Αὕτη ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποστολικὴ καὶ ἀμώμητος πίστις, ἦν-
τινα ἄνωθεν παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκ προ-
γόνων εἰς ἐκγόνους παραδοθεῖσαν ἡ ἐκκλησία πρεσβεύει, καὶ νῦν
καὶ εἰς ἀεὶ ταύτην κρατεῖ, εἰπόντος τοῦ Κυρίου τοῖς μαθηταῖς·
Πορευθέντες, μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς
εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος.
Gelas. Cyzic. Hist. Concil. Nic. prim. lib. ii. c. 23. Labb.
Concil. vol. ii. p. 224.

reject them as false : such, at all events, is the HISTORICAL FACT, which those Fathers publicly and uncontradictedly assert.

To suppose, that more than three hundred geographically disconnected individuals, just emerging from a severe persecution, in the course of which some of them, such as Paul and Paphnutius and many other Prelates, had been suffering confessors ¹, would dishonestly and unblushingly concur to avow a matter, which, at that early period, *if* untrue, must have been generally *known* to be untrue : is a supposition, which it is certainly somewhat difficult rationally to entertain.

We may, indeed easily conceive : that, under the influence of some forcible motive, these numerous individuals might have been led to unite in the establishment of a NEW code of DOCTRINE. But, on the hypothesis that their *then* established DOCTRINAL SYSTEM was a NOVELTY, we cannot easily comprehend : how, in *that* case, they could have dared to assert a FACT, which thousands and millions would have instantaneously contradicted. For, if their propounded DOCTRINAL SYSTEM were a mere NOVELTY ; since we *know* them to have asserted the FACT that *They received it from their predecessors*, they clearly must have made the astounding assertion : that this notoriously *new* doctrine, now recently for the *first* time propounded

¹ See Theodorit. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 7.

by themselves, was, nevertheless, the identical *old* doctrine, which had *always*, in *every* Church, been taught by the Catechists, and preached by the Clergy, and believed by the Laity; that this same *new* doctrine had been handed down, *uninterruptedly*, from generation to generation, until it was received by the existing race of believers; and that, by *every* Catholic, in *every* quarter of the Christian World, this self-same *new* doctrine, though universally well known to have been *first introduced* by the Nicene Fathers, was yet also known and admitted to have been *originally delivered*, to all the still perfectly concurring Churches both of Europe and of Asia and of Africa, by the holy Apostles themselves, on the express authority of their divine Master.

How more than three hundred men could have ventured to hazard such an assertion, and how such an assertion could have completely escaped contradiction, may well be deemed somewhat extraordinary. Nevertheless, on the supposition that they were advancing a *perfectly new* and therefore *hitherto unheard of* doctrinal system, this precise assertion they plainly *must* have hazarded: and, what is even yet more strange, this precise assertion, when hazarded, *must* have been implicitly received without a shadow of contradiction.

2. Still, however, to preclude the possibility of error, we will not, at present, *thoroughly* admit the asserted HISTORICAL FACT of the Nicene Fathers

that *The doctrine, which they propounded, had been the doctrine of the Catholic Church from the very beginning.* Before we receive it as an *undoubted* verity, we will, through the medium of other evidence, inquire whether it rests upon any solid foundation.

If, then, we find their asserted FACT regularly contradicted by more ancient testimonies up to the time of the Apostles : in that case, we are bound to reject it, as one of those portentous falsehoods which have occasionally been uttered.

But, if we find it confirmed by almost every variety of evidence which we can well imagine ; and if, moreover, we find, that every objection to such evidence is altogether futile and untenable : in that case, we must clearly receive it, as the plain and honest and unadulterated truth.

Respecting the DOCTRINE involved in the asserted FACT, we may entertain what opinions we please, according as we admit or reject the divine authority of Christ and his Apostles. But, if the asserted FACT be supported and confirmed by sufficient historical testimony, the bare FACT *itself* we must undoubtedly receive : for, otherwise, by a refusal to receive a fact on sufficient historical testimony, we shall paradoxically introduce an universal scepticism.

IV. By writers, more or less hostile to the doctrine of the Trinity, much has been said respecting the dissensions, which are alleged to have taken

place among the Fathers of the first Nicene Council before they came to their final determination. Yet, with the exception of the *personal* heart-burnings which (according to Socrates and Sozomen and Ruffinus) occurred at the commencement of the Council, these alleged dissensions appear, so far as *doctrine* was concerned, to have been, in truth, rather discussions for the sake of attaining accuracy, than any flagrant and invincible differences of opinion.

1. Thus, accordingly, we find them described by the Emperor Constantine, in his circular Epistle to the Churches.

All things, said he, obtained a suitable examination ¹.

2. He makes the same assertion in his particular Epistle to the Church of Alexandria.

All things, which might seem to give any handle for dispute or dissention, were argued and accurately examined ².

3. On this assertion of the Emperor, the remark of the historian Socrates runs as follows.

Constantine, indeed, wrote these things to the people of Alexandria, signifying : that the definition of the faith was made, not lightly nor at pure hazard ;

¹ Ἄπαντα τῆς προσηκούσης τετύχηκεν ἐξετάσεως. Euseb. de vit. Constant. lib. iii. c. 17.

² Ἠλέγχθη ἅπαντα, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐξήτασται, ὅσα ἢ ἀμφιβολίας ἢ διχονοίας πρόφασιν ἐδόκει γεννᾶν. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 9.

*but that they laid it down with much inquiry and examination: and not that some things were mentioned, while other things were suppressed; but that all things were agitated, whatsoever were meet to be spoken for the establishment of the dogma: and that the definition was not made lightly; but that it was preceded by an accurate discussion*¹.

V. I have thought it right to notice these matters, though they are of no immediate consequence to my argument itself.

That argument, be it remembered, respects HISTORICAL FACTS exclusively; not THE ABSTRACT TRUTH OR FALSEHOOD OF ANY PARTICULAR THEOLOGICAL SYSTEM.

Now the Fathers of the first Nicene Council, after a long and careful inquiry and discussion, assert, merely as A THEN WELL KNOWN HISTORICAL FACT: that *Their own definition of the Christian Faith was that precise scheme of Theology, which they had themselves received in the course of their catechetical instruction previous to their baptism, which they had always imparted to their own Catechumens, which was the unvarying faith of the*

¹ Ὁ μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς τοιαῦτα ἔγραφε τῷ Ἀλεξανδρέων δήμῳ, μηνύων, ὅτι οὐχ ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲ ὥς ἔτυχε, γέγονεν ὁ ὅρος τῆς πίστεως· ἀλλ' ὅτι μετὰ πολλῆς συζητήσεως, καὶ δοκιμασίας αὐτὸν ὑπηγόρευσαν· καὶ οὐχ, ὅτι τινὰ μὲν ἐλέχθη, τινὰ δὲ ἀπεισιγῆθη· ἀλλ' ὅτι, ὅσα πρὸς σύστασιν τοῦ δόγματος λεχθῆναι ἡρμοζε, πάντα ἐκινήθη· καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὠρίσθη· ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσθη πρότερον. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 9.

*Catholic Church in all their several dioceses, and which was ultimately derived from the Lord himself through the Apostles and their successors*¹.

¹ I may here observe : that the testimony of Acesius, the Bishop of the Novatian Dissenters, perfectly accorded with that of the Catholic Bishops assembled in the Nicene Council.

Constantine invited this Prelate to take his seat in the Synod along with his brethren. Acesius, on that rigidly severe principle of his separation which procured him the half joking imperial advice to set up a ladder and mount to heaven by himself, declined the invitation. But, after the dissolution of the Council and the confirmatory subscription of its Rule of Faith, he bore full testimony to the soundness of the historical basis, on which its members had avowedly constructed their Symbol.

When the Emperor asked him, whether he assented to the definition of Faith set forth by the Nicene Fathers, he promptly answered : *The Synod has defined nothing new : for thus, from earlier days and from the very beginning, I have received, even from the apostolic times themselves, this Definition of the Faith.*

Ὁ δὲ, οὐδὲν καινὸν, ἔφη, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ἡ σύνοδος ὤρισεν· οὕτω γάρ, ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἐκ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν χρόνων, παρέληφα καὶ τὸν ὅρον τῆς πίστεως. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 10.

Acesius, we see, though, on a point of overstrained discipline, his Communion, since the time of the persecution under Decius, had remained separated from the General Church, bears exactly the same testimony, as the assembled Fathers of the Council themselves, to THE HISTORICAL FACT of *The primitive apostolical tradition and derivation of the Nicene Definition of the Faith.* That definition, he distinctly avows, propounded the identical doctrine respecting the nature and subsistence of the Deity, which, under the specific aspect of *An authoritative communication from the Apostles to the very earliest Church Catholic*, he had himself received from his theological predecessors.

It is with *the historical truth of this alleged* FACT, not with *the abstract truth of the* DOCTRINE *involved in it*, that I am at present alone specially concerned.

Thus, while dissenters in discipline, Acesius and his Communion fully symbolised with the Universal Church, both in regard to *the Faith itself*, and in regard to *the historical Principle* on which that Faith was adopted.

CHAPTER III.

RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY AFFORDED BY THE EVIDENCE OF ENEMIES TO THE FACT OF THE POSITIVE ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST'S ESSENTIAL DIVINITY.

THE allegation of an enemy is important or unimportant in regard to historical testimony, precisely as that allegation is admitted or denied by the community against which it is brought forward.

Tacitus charged the Jews with adoring the image of an ass: but such a notorious and reprobated falsehood, as Tertullian well remarks, served only to demonstrate, that, in *this* particular at least, the historian evinced himself the very prince of liars¹. In a similar manner, the Pagans perpetually asserted, that the early Christians, in those secret meetings to which they were driven through the violence of persecution, were accustomed to eat and drink the flesh and blood of a slaughtered

¹ Cornelius Tacitus, sane ille mendaciorum loquacissimus. Tertull. Apol. adv. Gent. Oper. p. 841. Rhenan.

infant, and that a constituent part of their nefarious nocturnal orgies was an unbounded licence of promiscuous fornication : but, when from the very first we find such accusations indignantly repelled, we rationally ascribe them to mere bigotted virulence ; and thus, in point of evidence, we deem them unworthy of the least credit.

Now it is a remarkable circumstance, that, anterior to the session of the great Council of Nice, a standing topic of objection to the theology of the Gospel was : that CHRISTIANS VENERATED, AS GOD, ONE WHO HAD BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED AS A MALEFACTOR.

Nor is the objection brought forward in any modified and subordinate sense of the word *God*. Its very strength professedly lies, in the gross alleged absurdity : that *The Almighty Creator of heaven and earth, the Supreme Deity eternal and immortal and immutable, should have been born into this world in the form of a man ; should have tamely suffered himself to be treated with every sort of indignity ; and should at length have expired by the most ignominious of all punishments, that of crucifixion*¹.

This peculiar speculation is repeatedly charged

¹ So notorious a fact was the worship of Christ as God, that it was even made the express groundwork of persecution ; on the plea, that Christians, by such worship, violated an ancient Roman law, which forbad the consecration of a god without the assent of the Senate.

upon the whole body of the Christians, both by Pagans and by Jews and by Pagans assuming the controversial character of Jews, long anterior to the commencement of the fourth century.

The importance of the charge, so far as historical testimony is concerned, depends entirely upon the manner in which it was received.

If the charge were readily and instantaneously and constantly *denied*: the very denial would afford a distinct proof; that *The early Christians recognised no such doctrine as that of the Trinity and of the godhead of their Master.*

But, if, on the contrary, the charge were always freely *admitted*; if the opinion, involved in it, were strenuously *defended*; and if, in various instances,

Vetus erat decretum, ne deus ab imperatore consecraretur, nisi a senatu probaretur, ut M. Æmilius de deo suo Alburno fecit: et hoc ad causam nostram, quod apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensitatur. Nisi homini deus placuerit, deus non erit: homo jam deo propitius esse debet.—Quales ergo leges istæ, quas adversus nos soli exercent impii, injusti, turpes, truces, varii, dementes? Tertull. Apol. adv. Gent. Oper. p. 815, 817.

Such a law could not have affected Christians; unless it had been known, and unless they themselves had freely confessed, that they worshipped Christ as God. The Pagans, with *their* notions, might probably *sometimes* imagine, that Christ was the canonised hero-god of the Nazarenes: but this could not have been the case with *the more curious and accurate inquirers* among them; because, as I observe in the text, the very stress of *their* objections rests upon the alleged absurdity, that a crucified malefactor could be the Supreme Divinity.

the charge itself originated from *the very language* of those against whom it was brought: such an *admission* and such a *defence* will afford, I apprehend, a no less distinct proof; that *The doctrine of Christ's godhead, included in the doctrine of the Trinity, was the standard doctrine of the Catholic Church during the period throughout which the charge was so perpetually propounded.*

Having made these preliminary observations, I shall now, agreeably to the plan which has been laid down, trace the matter retrogressively from the era of the first Nicene Council.

I. About the year 303, or about the latter end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, flourished Arnobius, originally a pagan rhetorician at Sicca in Africa, afterward a convert to Christianity.

This writer gives the following account of the charge, as it stood in his time.

*The gods, says the pagan enemy of the Gospel, are not angry at you Christians, because you worship the Omnipotent God. But they are indignant: both because you contend, that ONE, WHO WAS BORN A MAN AND WHO WAS PUT TO DEATH BY THE IGNOMINIOUS PUNISHMENT OF CRUCIFIXION, IS GOD; and because you believe him still to survive; and because YOU ADORE HIM WITH DAILY SUPPLICATIONS*¹.

¹ Sed non, inquit, idcirco dii vobis infesti sunt, quod Omnipotentem colatis Deum; sed quod hominem natum, et quod per-

Such, in form, was the charge. The answer, after a sarcastic description of the gentile deities, thus grievously forsooth humiliated by the adoration of the crucified Galilean : the answer (through the medium of a very just retort, constructed on the acknowledged principles of Paganism itself) proceeds to assert and to vindicate the divine worship of Christ, on the specific ground of his absolute and proper divinity ; on the specific ground, to wit, that he is God in the highest import of the word, God sent economically as a messenger by God the Father the Supreme Ruler of the Universe.

We worship then, it seems, one who was born a man.

Be it so. But do you yourselves worship no one who was born a man : and that too, not merely this or that single individual, but deities innumerable ? Or rather, in truth, were not all your gods originally mortals, whom you yourselves have elevated to the starry heaven ?—

But let us suppose for a moment, in compliment to your own opinions, that Christ was one of us mere men, similar in mind and soul and body and frailty and condition to ourselves : still was he not, on your avowed principles, worthy to be called a god and to

sonis infame est vilibus crucis supplicio interemptum, et Deum fuisse contenditis, et superesse adhuc creditis, et quotidianis supplicationibus adoratis. Arnob. adv. gent. lib. i. p. 19, 20. Lugdun. Batav. 1651.

he deemed a god, in recompense for the benefits which he has conferred ? You worship Bacchus, Ceres, Esculapius, Minerva, and Triptolemus ; because they severally invented wine, corn, medicine, the olive, and the plough : you have introduced Hercules into the assembly of the gods ; because he destroyed wild-beasts and thieves and the innumerable heads of the hydra. Shall we then venerate, with more penurious honours, him, who guided us from error into truth ?—

But you tell us, that We worship one who was born a man.

Now, even if it were true that we did worship a mere man : yet, on account of all the blessings which we have derived from him, he might, on your own principles, well deserve to be styled a divinity. But, SINCE HE IS GOD IN REALITY AND WITHOUT THE SLIGHTEST AMBIGUITY OF DOUBT, do you imagine us inclined ever to deny, that HE IS WORSHIPPED BY US IN THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE DEGREE, and that he is called the President of our Community ?

Some one, maddened and enraged, will say : What, then, is that Christ God ?

YES, we answer, AND GOD OF THE VERY INNERMOST POTENCY. We further profess, however it may irritate unbelievers, that, for ends of the last importance, he was sent to us by the Supreme Sovereign.—HE WAS THE HIGH GOD : GOD, RADICALLY AND ESSENTIALLY. From unknown realms, by the Prince of the Universe, he was sent, God, God the Saviour :

God, whose origin and whose essence the rulers and the gods of this world could neither know nor suspect ¹.

¹ *Natum hominem colimus.*

Quid enim? Vos hominem nullum colitis natum? Non unum et alium? Non innumeros alios? Quinimo non omnes, quos jam templis habetis vestris, mortalium sustulistis ex numero, et cœlo sideribusque donastis?—

Sed concedamus interdum, manum vestris opinionibus dantes, unum Christum fuisse de nobis, mentis, animæ, corporis, fragilitatis, et conditionis unius: nonne dignus a nobis est, tantorum ob munerum gratiam, Deus dici, Deusque sentiri? Si enim vos Liberum, quòd usum reperit vini; si, quòd panis, Cererem; si Æsculapium, quòd herbarum; si Minervam, quod oleæ; si Triptoleum, quòd aratri; si denique Herculem, quòd feras, quòd fures, quòd multiplicium capitum superavit compescuitque natrices; divorum retulistis in cœtum: honoribus quantis afficiendus est nobis, qui ab erroribus nos magnis, insinuata veritate, traduxit?—

Natum hominem colitis.

Etiam si esset id verum, tamen pro multis et tam liberalibus donis, quæ ab eo profecta in nobis sunt, Deus dici appellarique deberet. Cum vero Deus sit re certa et sine ullius rei dubitationis ambiguo, inficiaturos arbitramini nos esse, quam maxime illum a nobis coli et præsidem nostri corporis nuncupari?

Ergone, inquiet aliquis, furens, iratus, et percitus, Deus ille est Christus?

Deus, respondebimus, et interiorum potentiarum Deus: et, quod magis infidos acerbissimis doloribus torqueat, rei maximæ causa a Summo Rege ad nos missus.—Deus ille sublimis fuit; Deus radice ab intimâ; Deus ab incognitis regnis, et ab omnium Principe Deus sospitator, est missus: quem neque sol ipse, neque ulla, si sentiunt, sidera, non rectores, non principes mundi, non denique dii magni, aut qui fingentes se deos genus

The responsive argument of Arnobius, in short, runs to the following effect.

Even if Christ were a mere man, who had been elevated to divinity on account of the benefits which he had conferred : you Pagans, on *your own* principles, could not justly object to *our* adoration of him ; since *you yourselves* confessedly worship a whole Olympus of deified mortals who once actually and corporeally lived in this nether world. Still less, then, can you object to *our* practice : since Christ is not a mere deified man and nothing more, but truly and unambiguously and essentially God himself ; God the Son, sent by God the Father ; Jehovah, as the prophet Zechariah speaks, sent by Jehovah ; God, one with the Father in essence, though distinct from the Father in person.

II. We find the same familiar allegation urged again and again, almost to absolute satiety, by the Epicurean Celsus, who flourished about the middle of the second century : and his testimony is peculiarly valuable, not only for its antiquity, but also because, like that of the Pagan in Arnobius, it unequivocally tends to shew, that the Christians of that period supposed their Lord to be God *essentially* ¹. His Work was answered by Origen,

omne mortalium territant, unde aut qui fuerit, potuerunt noscere vel suspicari. Arnob. adv. gent. lib. i. p. 21, 24, 32.

¹ The objections of Celsus are put into the mouth of a Jew. Hence the objections are constructed on the sentiments, which the Jews were known to entertain of God. Now a Jew never

who lived about the middle of the third century : so that the objections and the replies may be considered, as exhibiting the belief of the Church from about the year 150 to about the year 250.

The fictitious Jew, in the Work of Celsus, says Origen, thus addresses Jesus.

What need was there, that, while yet an infant, thou shouldest be carried to Egypt, lest thou shouldest be slain ? Surely it was not fitting, that GOD should be alarmed on account of death. But an angel, it seems, came from heaven, commanding thee and thy relatives to flee, lest, if caught, ye should die ! The great God, then, who sent two angels on account of thee, could not, in that country, preserve thee, HIS OWN PROPER SON !—

But we Christians, giving credit to Jesus, when, concerning the Deity who was within him, he said, I am the way and the truth and the life ; and when, respecting his human body he said, Now ye seek to slay me, a man who have spoken the truth to you :

could have gone to work on the principle : that *A Christian might deem his lord to be a god, only in the inferior paganising sense of a canonised hero or demon.* Therefore, when a simulated Jew is dramatically made to object that *Christians deemed their Lord to be God* : the decorum of the sustained character plainly requires, that by GOD should be meant JEHOVAH or THE SUPREME DEITY. Accordingly, we shall find : that all the objections, which Celsus puts into the mouth of ~~his~~ Jew, are framed on this precise principle ; and that all the answers, returned by Origen, are still framed on the very same principle.

we Christians pronounce him to be a certain compound ; and we judge it meet, that he, who had pre-determined to sojourn among us like a man, should not unseasonably expose himself to mortal danger.—For, since he wished to appear only as a man testified of God, there would have been an inconsistency in any extraordinary aid, which might indicate, that, under the appearance of a man, he possessed somewhat more divine : namely, that he was properly the Son of God, even God the Word and the Power and the Wisdom of God, who is called Christ ¹.

¹ Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἐξῆς ὁ Ἰουδαῖος πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, παρὰ τῷ Κέλσῳ λέγει.

Τί δὲ καὶ σε νήπιον ἔτι ἐχρῆν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐκκομίζεσθαι, μὴ ἀποσφαγῆς ; Θεὸν γὰρ οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν περὶ θανάτου δεδουκέναι· καὶ ἄγγελος μὲν ἦκεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, κελεύων σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἰκείοις φεύγειν, μὴ ἐγκαταληφθέντες ἀποθάνητε. Φυλάσσειν δέ σε αὐτόθι, ὁ δὺς ἤδη διὰ σε πεπομφῶς ἀγγέλους, ὁ μέγας Θεὸς, τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν οὐκ ἐδύνατο ;—

Ἡμεῖς δ', αὐτῷ πιστεύοντες Ἰησοῦ, περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ θεϊότητος λέγοντι, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωὴ, καὶ εἴ τι τούτοις παραπλήσιον· περὶ δὲ τοῦ, ὅτι ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι ἦν, ταῦτα φάσκοντι, Νῦν δὲ ζητεῖτέ με ἀποκτεῖναι, ἄνθρωπον, ὅστις τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑμῖν λελάληκα· σύνθετόν τι χρῆμα φαμὲν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι, καὶ ἐχρῆν τὸν προνοούμενον τῆς ὡς ἀνθρώπου ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὸν βίον ἐπιδημίας μὴ ἀκαίρως ὁμοσε χωρεῖν τῷ ἕως θανάτου κινδύνῳ.—Τὸ γὰρ πάνυ παράδοξον τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν βοήθειας, καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐμφανές, οὐκ ἦν χρήσιμον τῷ βούλεσθαι αὐτὸν διδάξαι ὡς ἄνθρωπον μαρτυρούμενόν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔχειν τι θεϊότερον ἐν τῷ βλεπομένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ· ὅπερ ἦν ὁ κυρίως υἱὸς Θεοῦ, Θεὸς Λόγος καὶ Δυνάμις καὶ Θεοῦ Σοφία, ὁ καλούμενος Χριστός. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 51. 52. Spencer. Cantab. 1618.

GOD, he continues in the person of his fictitious Jew to address Jesus, cannot have such a body as thine.

*But, in answer to this, we say : that, sojourning in life as a man, he assumed, from a female, a body like the human body capable of death*¹.

His fictitious Jew goes on to object : How could we deem him to be GOD, who performed nothing of the things which he promised ; and who, when we had convicted him, was at length apprehended after a disgraceful attempt to hide himself ; and who was betrayed by the very persons, whom he called disciples ? Had he been GOD, he could neither have fled, nor could he have been led away in bonds.—

To this we reply : that we do not suppose the visible and sensible body of Jesus to be God, nor even indeed his human soul concerning which it is said, My soul is sorrowful even unto death : but, in our opinion, the Word, who is God and the Son of the God of all things, spoke, in Jesus, both the saying, I am the way and the truth and the life, and the saying, I am the gate, and the saying, I am the living bread that descended from heaven, and other sayings of a similar nature. Well, therefore, do we censure the Jews for not deeming him to be God, who is by the prophets so often testified of, as being

¹ Φησιν, "Οτι Θεοῦ οὐκ ἂν εἶη τοιοῦτον σῶμα, οἷον τὸ σόν.

Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς, πρὸς ταῦτα, σῶμα αὐτὸν λέγομεν ἀνειληφέναι, ὡς ἀπὸ θηλείας, τῇ βίῳ ἐπιδημήσαντα ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ θανάτου ἀνθρώπου δεκτικόν. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 54.

THE GREAT POWER AND GOD *according to the God and Father of all things. For we assert, that, in the Mosaic Cosmogony, the Father addressed to him the command, Let there be light, and Let there be a firmament, and whatsoever other things God commanded to be made. He, moreover, said to him; Let us make man after our image and our likeness: and the Word, having received these commands, did all the things which the Father enjoined him.—But we speak thus, not as separating THE SON OF GOD from the man Jesus: for, after the economy, the soul and the body of Jesus became most intimately one with THE WORD OF GOD* ¹.

¹ Μετὰ ταῦτά φησιν ὁ Ἰουδαῖος· Πῶς δ' ἐμέλλομεν τοῦτον νομίζειν Θεόν, ὃς, τά τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ ἐπηκούετο, οὐδὲν ὧν ἐπηγγέλλετο ἐπεδείκνυτο; καὶ, ἐπειδὴ ἡμεῖς ἐλέγξαντες αὐτὸν καὶ καταγνόντες ἤξιούμεεν κολάζεσθαι, κρυπτόμενος μὲν καὶ διαδιδράσκων ἐπονειδιστότατα, ἐάλω· ὑπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν ὠνόμαζε μαθητῶν προυδόθη. Καὶ τοι Θεόν, φησιν, ὄντα, οὔτε φεύγειν ἐνῆν, οὔτε δεθέντα ἀπάγεσθαι.—

Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ φήσομεν, ὅτι οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνομεν τὸ βλεπόμενον τότε καὶ αἰσθητὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σῶμα εἶναι Θεόν. Καὶ τί λέγω τὸ σῶμα; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν, περὶ ἧς λέλεκται τὸ, Περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου· Ἀλλὰ,—καθ' ἡμᾶς, ὁ Λόγος Θεός, καὶ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων υἱός, ἔλεγεν ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ τὸ, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωὴ· καὶ τὸ, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ θύρα· καὶ τὸ, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς· καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τούτοις παραπλήσιον. Ἐγκαλοῦμεν οὖν Ἰουδαίοις τοῦτον μὴ νομίσασι Θεόν, ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν πολλαχοῦ μεμαρτυρημένον ὡς μεγάλην ὄντα Δυνάμιν καὶ Θεόν, κατὰ τὸν τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα. Τούτῃ γὰρ φαμέν, ἐν τῇ κατὰ Μωσέα κοσμοποιίᾳ, προστάττοντα τὸν Πατέρα εἰρηκέναι τὸ, Γενηθήτω

Let us see, however, what Celsus is pleased next to object.

Being GOD, says he, Christ foretold that he should be betrayed. Therefore, what he foretold, could not but come to pass. Hence GOD compelled his disciples to become wicked and impious.—Truly, no person, who partook of the same table even with a man, ever plotted against that man: yet one, who had feasted with GOD, plotted against GOD; and, what is still more inconsistent, GOD HIMSELF plotted against his associates, compelling them to become traitors.

Even to such allegations as these we will reply, though they are no better than mere childish quibbles. Celsus, then, thinks, that a predicted matter occurs, because it is predicted. But we, admitting no such thing, assert, that he, who predicts a matter, is not the cause of its occurrence: for, though he has foretold what is about to occur; yet that, which is about to occur, will equally occur, even if it has never been foretold¹.

φῶς, καὶ Γενηθήτω στερέωμα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα προσέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς γενέσθαι· καὶ τούτῳ εἰρηκέναι τὸ, Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν· προσταχθέντα δὲ τὸν Λόγον πεποιηκέναι πάντα ὅσα ὁ Πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἐνετείλατο.—Ταῦτα δὲ φάμεν, οὐ χωρίζοντες τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· ἐν γὰρ μάλιστα, μετὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν γεγένηται πρὸς τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. ii. p. 62, 63, 64.

¹ Μετὰ ταῦτα ἴδωμεν πῶς λέγει. Ταῦτα Θεός, φησιν, ὧν προεῖπε· καὶ πάντως ἐχρῆν γενέσθαι τὸ προειρημένον. Θεός

We proceed to notice the next objection, started with abundance of parade, by our antagonist.

GOD, says Celsus, is good and excellent and happy. But, if he descends to men, he of necessity experiences a change: that is to say, a change from good to bad, from excellent to base, from happiness to unhappiness. Yet who would choose such a mutation? It may be consistent with the nature of a mortal: but, with that of an immortal, it is wholly inconsistent. GOD, therefore, can never have experienced any such mutation.

To this it would afford a sufficient reply, if I were to shew the character of what in Scripture is called A DESCENT OF GOD TO MEN: in which there is no need to admit any change in him (as Celsus imagines us to assert), nor any conversion from good to bad or from excellent to base.—But that, which descended

οὖν, τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς καὶ προφήτας, μεθ' ὧν συνεδείπνει καὶ συνέπινεν, εἰς τοῦτο περιήγαγεν, ὥς γε ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀνοσίους γενέσθαι.—Ἡ ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν ὁ κοινωνήσας τραπέζης, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἐπεβούλευσε· Θεῷ δὲ συνευωχηθεὶς, ἐπίβουλος ἐγίνετο· καὶ, ὅπερ ἔτι ἀτοπώτερον, αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς συντραπέζοις ἐπεβούλευσε, προδότας καὶ δυσσεβεῖς ποιῶν.

Καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ, ἐπεὶ βούλει καὶ τοῖς ἐμοὶ φαινομένοις εὐτελέσι τοῦ Κέλσου ἐπιχειρήμασιν ἀπαντᾶν, τοιαῦτα φήσομεν. Ὁ μὲν Κέλσος οἶεται, διὰ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι τὸ ὑπὸ τινος προγνώσεως θεσπισθὲν, ἐπεὶ ἐθεσπίσθη. Ἡμεῖς δὲ, τοῦτο οὐ διδόντες, φάμεν, οὐχὶ τὸν θεσπίσαντα αἰτιὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐσομένου, ἐπεὶ προεῖπεν αὐτὸ γενησόμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐσόμενον ἐσόμενον ἂν καὶ μὴ θεσπισθὲν, τὴν αἰτίαν τῷ προγιγνώσκοντι παρεσχηκέναι τοῦ αὐτὸ προεῖπεῖν. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. ii. p. 72, 73.

to men, was in the form of God: and, on account of his philanthropy, he emptied himself, in order that he might be apprehended by them; yet without a change from good to bad or from happiness to unhappiness¹.—If, however, THE IMMORTAL GOD THE WORD, assuming a mortal body and a human soul, seems to Celsus to be changed and metamorphosed: let him learn, that THE WORD, REMAINING THE WORD IN SUBSTANCE, suffers nothing of the matters which the body and the soul suffer².

¹ Philip. ii. 6.

² Ἰδωμεν δὲ καὶ ἄπερ ἐξῆς φησιν ὁ Κέλσος, μετὰ μεγάλης ἀπαγγελίας, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.

Ὁ Θεὸς ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ καλὸς, καὶ εὐδαίμων, καὶ ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ. Εἰ δὴ ἐς ἀνθρώπους κάτεισι, μεταβολῆς αὐτῷ δεῖ· μεταβολῆς δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ εἰς κακόν, καὶ ἐκ καλοῦ εἰς αἰσχροῦν, καὶ ἐξ εὐδαιμονίας εἰς κακοδαιμονίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρίστου εἰς τὸ πονηρότατον. Τίς ἂν οὖν ἔλοιτο τοιαύτην μεταβολήν; Καὶ μὲν δὴ τῷ θνητῷ μὲν ἀλλάττεσθαι καὶ μεταπλάττεσθαι, φύσιν· τῷ δ' ἀθάνατῳ, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχειν. Οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ ταύτην τὴν μεταβολὴν Θεὸς δέχοιτο.

Δοκεῖ δέ μοι πρὸς ταῦτα λέγεσθαι τὰ δέοντα, διηγησαμένῳ τὴν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς λεγομένην κατάβασιν Θεοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἀνθρώπινα· εἰς ἣν οὐ μεταβολῆς αὐτῷ δεῖ, ὥς Κέλσος ἡμᾶς οἶεται λέγειν, οὔτε τροπῆς τῆς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ εἰς κακόν.—Τὸ δὲ καταβεβηκὸς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπῆρχε· καὶ, διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, ἵνα χωρηθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῶν δυνηθῇ· οὐ δὴ που δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν εἰς κακόν γέγονεν αὐτῷ μεταβολή, —οὐδ' ἐκ καλοῦ εἰς αἰσχροῦν, —οὐδὲ ἐξ εὐδαιμονίας ἦλθεν εἰς κακοδαιμονίαν. —Εἰ δὲ καὶ, σῶμα θνητὸν καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀναλαβὼν, ὁ ἀθάνατος Θεὸς Λόγος δοκεῖ τῷ Κέλσῳ ἀλλάττεσθαι καὶ μεταπλάττεσθαι· μαιθανέτω, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος, τῇ οὐσίᾳ μένων Λόγος,

On the whole, since he objects to us, I know not how often, concerning Jesus ; that FROM A MORTAL BODY WE ESTEEM HIM TO BE GOD, and that in doing so we conceive ourselves to act piously : it were superfluous, so much having already been said, to give him any further answer. Yet let these objectors know, that this person, whom, with full persuasion, we believe to be from the beginning, GOD AND THE SON OF GOD, is the very Word and the very Wisdom and the very Truth : and we assert, that his mortal body and the human soul in him, not only by fellowship, but likewise by absolute union and commixture, having participated of his divinity, have passed into THE DEITY ¹.

οὐδὲν μὲν πάσχει ὦν πάσχει τὸ σῶμα ἢ ἡ ψυχὴ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iv. p. 169, 170.

¹ Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγκαλεῖ ἡμῖν, οὐκ οἶδ' ἤδη ὀποσάκις, περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ θνητοῦ σώματος ὄντα Θεὸν νομίζομεν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὅσα δρᾶν δοκοῦμεν· περισσὸν μὲν τὸ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτο λέγειν, πλείονα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω λέλεκται. "Ὅμως δὲ ἴστωσαν οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντες, ὅτι, ὃν μὲν νομίζομεν καὶ πεπεῖσμεθα ἀρχῇθὲν εἶναι Θεὸν καὶ υἱὸν Θεοῦ, οὗτος ὁ Αὐτολόγος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Αὐτοσοφία καὶ ἡ Αὐτοαλήθεια· τὸ δὲ θνητὸν αὐτοῦ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχὴν, τῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο οὐ μόνον κοινωνίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώσει καὶ ἀνακράσει, τὰ μέγιστα φαρμὲν προσειληφέναι, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου θεϊότητος κεκοινωνκότα εἰς Θεὸν μεταβεβηκέναι. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iii. p. 135, 136. See also lib. ii. p. 101. lib. vii. p. 368. lib. viii. p. 404.

At the close of these quotations, it may not be useless to remark : that the simulated Jew of Celsus indifferently argues on the fact of the Christians deeming their Saviour ὁ Θεὸς as well as Θεός. The former term, ὁ Θεός, in English most pro-

It will be observed, that the allegations of Celsus, while they are throughout constructed upon the express ground that Christ was believed to be strictly and properly THE SUPREME GOD, respect, not merely *a few visionary individuals*, but *the whole collective body of the Church*. As such, accordingly, they are understood and answered by Origen. Hence, whatever in the abstract we may think of the *arguments* on either side, we have (the *sole* matter with which I am at present concerned) the positive and admitted *testimony* of Celsus to the evidently well-known and familiar circumstance : that *The Catholic Church, about the middle of the second century, or about some fifty or sixty years after the death of St. John, held and maintained the essential divinity of Christ, viewed under the aspect of God the Word, the eternal Son of the Father, cöexistent with him from the beginning in the inseparable unity of the Godhead*.

III. Such being the case, we shall be prepared to expect the same charge from the mouth of Trypho the Jew in the celebrated conversation which he held with Justin Martyr some few years earlier than the epoch of the attack made by Celsus.

The conversation in question, as appears from

perly rendered *The Deity*, effectually precludes, even on grammatical principles, any socinian quibble, that Θεός without the article, may be rendered *a god*, no less properly than *God*.

the evidence distinctly afforded by itself, took place in the year 136¹. Hence the allegations of Trypho will respect the faith of Christians, as by an enemy it was *alleged* to stand, and as by a professed believer it was *admitted* to stand, only thirty-six years after the death of the Apostle St. John.

Trypho exclaimed: My good friend, it would be well for us to follow the advice of our Rabbins, that we should converse with no one of you Christians. For you speak many blasphemies, wishing to persuade us: that THIS CRUCIFIED MALEFACTOR WAS WITH MOSES AND AARON, and that HE CONVERSED WITH THEM IN THE PILLAR OF THE CLOUD, and that afterward he became man, and that he was crucified, and that he ascended to heaven, and that he will again appear upon earth, and that HE OUGHT TO BE WORSHIPPED.

Whereupon I answered: I know, that, as the word of God spake, THIS GREAT WISDOM OF GOD THE ALMIGHTY CREATOR OF ALL THINGS is hidden from you. Hence, through pity, I labour, that you may under-

¹ Trypho speaks of himself, as having emigrated to Greece in consequence of the war which was then raging: *φυγὼν τὸν νῦν γενόμενον πόλεμον*. Just. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 167. Sylburg. 1593. And this war is afterward described as the Jewish war: *ἐμβαλόντος τινὸς αὐτῶν λόγον περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γενομένου πολέμου*. Ibid. p. 175. But this then raging war in Judæa was doubtless the war of Adrian, which occurred in the year 136. Therefore, in that same year 136, the dialogue of Justin and Trypho must have been carried on.

*stand these our doctrines which appear so paradoxical ; or, if I fail of success, that at least in the day of judgment I may be irreprehensible*¹.

¹ Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων εἶπεν· ὦ ἄνθρωπε, καλὸν ἦν πεισθέντας ἡμᾶς τοῖς διδασκάλοις νομοθετήσασι, μηδενὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν ὁμιλεῖν, μηδέ σοι τούτων κοινωνῆσαι τῶν λόγων· βλάβος γὰρ πολλὰ λέγεις, τὸν σταυρωθέντα τοῦτον ἀζιῶν πείθειν ἡμᾶς γεγεννησθαι μετὰ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἀαρὼν, καὶ λελαληκέναι αὐτοῖς ἐν στύλῳ νεφέλης, εἶτα ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον σταυρωθῆναι, καὶ ἀναβεβηκέναι εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ πάλιν παραγίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ προσκυνητὸν εἶναι.

Κἀγὼ ἀπεκρινάμην· Οἶδα ὅτι, ὥς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος ἔφη, κέκρυπται ἅφ' ὑμῶν ἡ Σοφία ἡ μεγάλη αὕτη τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων καὶ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ· διὸ συμπαθῶν ὑμῖν προσκάμνειν ἀγωνίζομαι, ὅπως τὰ παράδοξα ἡμῶν ταῦτα νοήσητε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἵνα κἂν αὐτὸς ἀθῶος ᾖ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως. Just. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 198.

An objection has been started by Episcopus : that, although Justin acknowledges Christ to be *God* ; yet he distinguishes him from *the Creator of the world*, and therefore denies that *he was the Creator*. See Bull. Judic. Eccles. Cathol. append. ad c. vii. § 6.

I. Certainly Justin distinguishes *Christ* from *the Creator of all things* : but then it is in a passage, wherein he declares him to be *the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob*.

Ἄλλοι γὰρ, κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον, βλασφημεῖν, τὸν Ποιητὴν τῶν ὅλων, καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προφητευόμενον ἐλεύσεσθαι Χριστὸν καὶ τὸν Θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, διδάσκουσιν. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 196.

Nor is this all : he immediately afterward employs well nigh thirty folio pages to demonstrate, that *Christ*, from time to time appearing in a human form, was *the God worshipped by the old Patriarchs*. Ibid. p. 197—223.

Now

Then said Trypho : Taking up your discourse from the point where you ceased, now proceed : for it

Now the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, or the God of the old Patriarchs, was undoubtedly and confessedly Jehovah.

Hence, though Justin rightly distinguishes *the Son* from the *Paternal Creator of all things*, he furthermore, after the inspired Apostles Paul and John, teaches us : that *God the Father created the world THROUGH Christ his Son and Word*; and that *The Father spake unto Christ, when he said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.*

Ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱὸς, ὁ Λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνῶν καὶ γεννώμενος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἔκτισε καὶ ἐκόσμησε, Χριστὸς μὲν. Justin. Apol. ii. Oper. p. 34, 35.

Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν. — Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τὸ τῷ ὄντι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς προβληθὲν γέννημα, πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων, συνῆν τῷ Πατρί· καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Πατὴρ προσομιλεῖ. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 221, 222.

II. Had these matters been duly attended to by Episcopus, he would have seen: that, when Justin distinguishes *Christ* from the *Creator of all things*, while at the same time he declares him to be *Jehovah the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the other old Patriarchs*, he means simply to distinguish him from *God the Father*; whom the ancient Church rightly deemed, the primary Creator of the Universe, and the αὐτόθεος and the πηγὴ θεότητος or the alone self-originating fountain of deity.

The doctrine, in short, of Justin and the Apostles, is: that *The Father created all things THROUGH the Son*. Compare John i. 3. Hebr. i. 2.

Hence, though Justin pronounces *the Son* to be the *Jehovah worshipped by the old Patriarchs*, he rightly and soundly distinguishes him from the *primordial Paternal Creator of the Uni-*

strikes me, as somewhat paradoxical and as by no means capable of an entire demonstration. With regard to what you assert, that THIS CHRIST, INASMUCH AS HE IS GOD, PREEXISTED BEFORE ALL AGES, and that he endured to be born a created man, and that he was not a mere man born from man in the ordinary course of nature: such an assertion seems to me, not only a paradox, but even a downright absurdity.

To this I replied: I know, that my discourse seems paradoxical more especially to those of your race, who were never willing either to understand or to perform the things of God¹.

And Trypho said: You attempt to shew a matter

verse. Had he done otherwise, he would have anticipated the subsequent patripassian heresy of Praxeas and Sabellius.

Nakedly to state from Justin, that, in his judgment, Christ was distinct from the Creator; and, consequently, to insinuate the inference, that, in his judgment also, Christ, though styled God, is not truly and essentially God: thus to exhibit the doctrine of Justin, is certainly to misrepresent him.

¹ Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων εἶπεν· Ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τὸν λόγον ὅθεν ἐπαύσω, πέραινε· παράδοξος τις γάρ ποτε, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ὅλως ἀποδειχθῆναι, δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ λέγειν σε προϋπάρχειν Θεὸν ὄντα πρὸ αἰώνων τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν, εἶτα καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον ὑπομεῖναι, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, οὐ μόνον παράδοξον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μωρόν.

Καγὼ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔφην· Οἶδ' ὅτι παράδοξος ὁ λόγος δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν, οἵτινες τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὔτε νοῆσαι οὔτε ποιῆσαι ποτὲ βεβούλησθε. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 207.

incredible and well nigh impossible ; that GOD ENDURED TO BE BORN AND TO BECOME A MAN.

My reply was : If I attempted to shew this by mere human arguments, there were no need that you should bear with me : but, if I bring my proofs from repeated scriptural authorities, you will then be convicted of hardheartedness in regard to understanding the mind and the will of God¹.

IV. The allegations of Trypho brought our evidence within thirty-six years after the death of St. John : the exactly concurring testimony of Pliny, regularly founded upon the strictness of legal depositions, will, in the first instance, bring it within three years after the death of that Apostle ; and, in the next instance, will carry it back even seventeen years *before* his death. For St.

¹ Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων· "Απιστον γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον σχεδὸν πρᾶγμα ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀποδεικνύναι, ὅτι Θεὸς ὑπέμεινε γεννηθῆναι καὶ ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι.

Εἰ τοῦτο, ἔφην, ἐπ' ἀνθρωπείοις διδάγμασιν ἢ ἐπιχειρήμασιν ἐπεβαλόμεν ἀποδεικνύναι, ἀνασχέσθαι μου οὐκ ἂν ἔδει ὑμᾶς· εἰ δὲ γραφὰς καὶ εἰς τοῦτο εἰρημένους τοσαύτας, πλειστάκις αὐτὰς λέγων, ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς ἐπιγινῶναι αὐτὰς, σκληροκάρδιοι πρὸς τὸ γινῶναι νοῦν καὶ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γίνεσθε. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 228.

So again, in another place, Trypho, directly and *uncontradictedly*, charges Justin with maintaining the preëxistence and divinity of Christ.

Θεὸν αὐτὸν προϋπάρχοντα λέγεις· καὶ, κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, σαρκοποιηθέντα αὐτὸν λέγεις διὰ τῆς παρθένου γεγεννηθῆσαι ἄνθρωπον. Ibid. p. 245.

John died in the year 100 : and, from the Bithynian Nicomedia, in the year 103, was written the well-known letter of Pliny to Trajan.

Some of the Asiatic Christians, and some of those who had formerly been Christians, when called to answer at the tribunal of this philosophic persecutor, were induced, in an evil hour, to adore the images of the Emperor and the gods, and to renounce with imprecations their Lord and Saviour.

Now, as to the doctrine and practice of the Church during the very early period which extended from the year 83 to the year 103 or from seventeen years *before* the death of St. John to three years *after* his death, these unhappy men concurred in making the following deposition.

They affirmed before me, says Pliny in his official report to Trajan, that the sum total of their fault or their error was this. On a stated day, they were wont to assemble together before sunrise and alternately to sing among themselves a hymn to Christ as to God. They then bound themselves by a sacramental pledge, not indeed to the perpetration of any wickedness, but to abstain from theft and adultery, to abide by their word, and never to forfeit their suretyship. When this was done, their custom was to depart and afterward to meet together again for the purpose of harmlessly sitting down to a general meal. The last practice, however, they had wholly omitted, in pursuance of my edict : by which,

*agreeably to your commands, I had forbidden all societies*¹.

On this evidence, it is important to remark: that the persecutor does not speak from *vague hearsay*. He officially reports to the Emperor *the depositions of the prisoners themselves, regularly taken down from their own mouths at a public examination*.

Nor were the attested doctrine and practice merely the attested doctrine and practice of a *few insulated individuals*: they were plainly the well known doctrine and practice of *the Catholic Church at large*. For, on the face of the depositions, it appears: that, *In the age of Trajan, at the very beginning of the second century, and therefore immediately after the death of St. John, the Catholic Church, in her ordinary stated assemblies and through the medium of her familiar appointed ritual, was regularly accustomed to worship Christ as God*.

Nor, again, could the attested doctrine and

¹ Adfirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris: quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem; seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria, committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coëundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium; quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo, secundum mandata tua, hetærias esse vetueram. Plin. Epist. lib. x. epist. 97.

practice have *suddenly* and *recently* sprung up in the Church, now no longer under the controuling authority of St. John. That venerable servant of Christ had indeed been called to his reward, at the time when the depositions of the lapsed were taken before Pliny : but, as yet, we may well say, he was scarcely cold in his grave. If the doctrine that *Christ is God*, and if the practice of *worshipping him as God*, were unknown to and unsanctioned by St. John : they must have started into existence, and they must have thoroughly infected the Church, in the short space of three calendar years. For, so far as *matter of fact* is concerned, we find, on unexceptionable authority : that, *Immediately after the death of St. John, the worship of Christ as God formed a part of the regular stated liturgical service of the Church*. And we detect this divine adoration, not in some remote corner of the world which might have been less under the Apostle's superintendence, but in a province of Asia Minor which may justly be deemed to have specially appertained to his own Patriarchate.

Nor yet is even *such* the *whole* result of the evidence now under consideration. Pliny tells the Emperor : that, of the persons who were brought before him and who all made the deposition in question, some professed to have abjured Christ, or to have ceased to be Christians, *three years* ; some, *more than three years* ; and some, even *twenty years*, previous to their appearance at his tribu-

nal¹. Our evidence, therefore, *now* specifies, on the personal knowledge of the deponents : that, full seventeen years *before* the death of St. John no less than three years *after* it, the Catholic Church, in the Apostle's own immediate jurisdiction, was *liturgically accustomed to worship Christ as God*².

¹ Alii, ab indice nominati, esse se Christianos dixerunt, et mox negaverunt : fuisse quidem, sed desisse ; quidam, ante triennium ; quidam, ante plures annos ; non nemo etiam, ante viginti quoque. Plin. Epist. lib. x. epist. 97.

² I may here properly notice Dr. Priestley's attempt to rid himself of the decisive attestation furnished by Pliny.

It is likewise alleged, that Pliny says : that The Christians, on a certain day, before it was light, met to sing a hymn to Christ as to God (or a god). But, as to this writer, if he had been told that hymns were sung by Christians in honour of Christ, being himself a heathen, he would naturally imagine ; that they were such hymns, as had been composed in honour of the heathen gods who had been men. Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 15. sect. 1. Works, vol. vi. p. 503.

I. The whole turn of Dr. Priestley's statement is evidently such, as to leave, upon the mind of an incautious reader, an impression : that Pliny had merely, by pure accident, picked up some idle hearsay account of the liturgical worship of the primitive Christians ; and that he had gratuitously supposed them to hold Christ in much the same estimation as the Pagans held their canonized hero-gods.

But the *real* fact is : that Pliny is forwarding, to the Emperor Trajan, a regular report of the *depositions* of certain christian prisoners, made before himself, at his own tribunal, in his quality of a magistrate : and those prisoners, as he expressly tells his master, *DEPOSED (affirmabant)*, that they sang or recited alternately a hymn to Christ as to God.

Verbally,

The strict accuracy of Pliny's official report to Trajan is fully established by the joint concurring

Verbally, then, the *terms* of their deposition are perfectly well ascertained. Hence, the only *real* question is: *What they MEANT by the terms in which they made their deposition.* For, as to what Pliny *himself* might *fancy* them to mean, *that* is a matter of the very least importance.

II. Their deposition consisted of two parts: the *Carmen Christo di:ere secum invicem*, and the *Quasi Deo*; that is to say, *Their alternate singing or reciting a hymn to Christ*, and *Their so doing it to him as to God* or (according to the translation apparently preferred by Dr. Priestley) *as to a god*.

1. The first part of their deposition was: that *They alternately sang or recited a hymn to Christ*.

Now the liturgical alternate singing or reciting a hymn to a person is clearly an act of adoration paid to that person: and Dr. Priestley allows, that the performing an act of adoration to a person is an acknowledgment of that person's divinity; for he devotes a whole section to prove, that *Christ could not be God, because with the primitive Christians he was not the object of prayer*; thus evidently allowing, that if he *were* the legitimate object of prayer, he *must needs* be very God. Hist. of Early Opin. Introd. sect. iii. What, then, becomes of this argument against our Lord's divinity, when, in point of FACT, we find even Asiatic Christians, not only three years *after*, but even seventeen years *before*, the death of St. John, singing or reciting, in the course of their stated periodical worship (*stato die*), a religious liturgical hymn to Christ? On the theory of Dr. Priestley, that *they, all the while, deemed him a mere dead man*, how is this to be accounted for?

No inference, he replies, *can be safely drawn from the hymns: because divinity may be ascribed to persons in very different senses, and some of them very innocent ones, especially in the language of poetry.*

Doubtless,

testimony, both of the ancient writer against the Artemonian heresy, of Clement of Alexandria, and of Origen.

Doubtless, there are poetical instances of a lover, more silly than his silly sheep, styling his mistress *a goddess*: and, doubtless also, Virgil and Horace, in a graver strain of flattery, denominate Augustus Cesar *a present god*. But will Dr. Priestley, or any admirer of Dr. Priestley, venture to institute a sober parallelism, between *such foolish or profane compositions* on the one hand, and *the primitive hymns solemnly and liturgically addressed to Christ by grave and holy men labouring under actual persecution* on the other hand? If they will not, what are we to think of Dr. Priestley's reply?

Clearly, then, the liturgical recitation of a hymn to Christ *must* be an act of adoration paid to Christ. And, since we are quite sure that the primitive believers were not idolaters, this act of theirs, by the argumentative confession of Dr. Priestley himself, amounts to a formal and direct acknowledgment, on their part: that *Christ is very and essential God*.

2. Hence, the first part of the deposition of the prisoners will distinctly teach us, how we ought to understand the second part.

Since their liturgical act of adoration, even if they had deposed to nothing more, would *alone*, on the reasonable assumption that *the primitive Church during the life-time of St. John was not idolatrous*, have demonstrated their full belief in the proper godhead of Christ: it inevitably follows; that their performing this act of adoration to Christ *quasi Deo* means, in *their* sense of the phrase; that they performed it to him, not *as to a god* in the sense of *a mere superstitiously canonised human hero-god* (for, in truth, the early believers recognised no such palpable idolatry), but *as to God* in the sense of *the very and essential Deity*.

To cut off all possibility of evasion, it may be useful to re-

1. With respect to the testimony of the ancient writer alluded to, commonly supposed to be Caius the Roman Presbyter who flourished about the year 210, we are indebted for it to the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius.

At the beginning of the third century, the disciples of Artemon ventured to assert: that *Their doctrine had always been the doctrine of the Church down to the time of Victor of Rome.*

This allegation was met, by the ancient writer in question, with a variety of positive evidence to the contrary effect: and, among other matters, he appeals to those liturgical hymns, which from the very first had been used in the public service of the Church, and which consequently were as familiar to every individual Christian as our old English metrical version of the Psalms is to each member of our own congregations..

*How numerous, moreover, says he, are the hymns and songs of the brethren, written by the faithful from the beginning, which celebrate Christ the Word of God, ascribing to him divinity*¹.

2. Such is the testimony of the ancient author of the Work against Artemon cited by Eusebius:

mark in conclusion: that the prisoners deposed, not to the recitation of a hymn *concerning* Christ, but to the recitation of a hymn *addressed to* Christ.

¹ Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπαρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσθαι τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες.
Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 28.

and its correctness is abundantly confirmed by the circumstance, that one of these primitive hymns still actually exists, either written by Clement of Alexandria himself upon a model universally familiar to the faithful, or preserved by him from a period of yet more remote antiquity.

The hymn in question is addressed to Christ : and, though it may not be composed in the very best possible taste ; yet it may serve to give us a sufficiently distinct idea of the mode, in which the early believers were accustomed to recite among themselves liturgical hymns to Christ as to God.

O thou, the bit of untamed colts, the wing of wandering birds, the true rudder of infants, the shepherd of the royal lambs ; gather together thy simple children, holily to praise, guilelessly to hymn, with innocent mouths, Christ the leader of children.

O King of saints, O all-subduing Word of the Most High Father, dispenser of wisdom, the age-rejoicing support of the labours of the human race, Saviour Jesus, shepherd, ploughman, rudder, bit, heavenly wing of the holy flock, fisher of the saved of all languages tempting them from the hostile waves of a sea of wickedness with the sweet bait of life : lead, O thou shepherd of rational sheep ; lead, O thou holy king of unpolluted children, after the footsteps of Christ ; lead, O heavenly way, O eternal Word, infinite age, everlasting light, fountain of mercy, performer of virtue, pious life of those who sing hymns to God, O Christ Jesus.

Let us infants, nourished with celestial milk and filled with the dewy Spirit, sing together simple praises, true hymns, to Christ the King, the holy repayment for eternal life.

Let us sing together, let us sing with simplicity, the mighty child.

Let us, the choir of peace, the children of Christ, a wise people, jointly celebrate the God of peace¹.

¹ Στόμιον πώλων ἀδαῶν, Πτερὸν ὀρνίθων ἀπλανῶν, Οἷαξ νηπίων ἀτρεκῆς, Ποιμὴν ἀρνῶν βασιλικῶν, Τοὺς σοὺς ἀφελεῖς Παῖδας ἄγειρον, Αἰνεῖν ἀγίως, Ὑμνεῖν ἀδόλως, Ἀκάκοις στόμασιν, Παῖδων ἡγήτορα Χριστόν. Βασιλεῦ ἀγίων, Λόγε πανδαμάτορ Πατρὸς ὑψίστου, Σοφίας πρύτανι, Στήριγμα πόνων Αἰωνοχαρὲς, Βροτέας γενεᾶς Σῶτερ Ἰησοῦ, Ποιμὴν, ἀροτῆρ, Οἷαξ, στόμιον, Πτερὸν οὐράνιον, Παναγοῦς ποιμένης, Ἀλιεῦ μερόπων τῶν σωζομένων, Πελάγου κακίας Ἰχθῦς ἀγνοῦς Κύματος ἐχθροῦ, Γλυκερῇ ζωῇ δελεάζων. Ἠγοῦ, προβάτων Λογικῶν ποιμήν. Ἀγίε, ἡγοῦ, Βασιλεῦ παίδων ἀνεπάφων, Ἰχνία Χριστοῦ. Ὁδὸς οὐρανία, Λόγος ἀέναος, Αἰὼν ἀπλετος, Φῶς αἰδίων, Ἐλέους πηγὴ, Ῥεκτῆρ ἀρετῆς. Σεμνὴ βιοτὴ Θεὸν ὑμνοῦντων, Χριστέ Ἰησοῦ. Γάλα οὐράνιον Μαστῶν γλυκερῶν Νύμφης χαρίτων, Σοφίας τῆς σῆς ἐκθλιβόμενον, Οἱ νηπίαχοι, Ἀταλοῖς στόμασιν Ἀτιταλλόμενοι, Θληῆς λογικῆς Πνεύματι ὀροσερῶ Ἐμπιπλάμενοι, Αἵνους ἀφελεῖς, Ὑμνοὺς ἀτρεκεῖς, Βασιλεῖ Χριστῷ, Μισθοὺς ὁσίους Ζωῆς διδαχῆς, Μέλπωμεν ὁμοῦ, Μέλπωμεν ἀπλῶς, Παῖδα κρατερόν. Χορὸς εἰρήνης, Οἱ χριστόγονοι, Λαὸς σώφρων, Ψάλωμεν ὁμοῦ Θεὸν εἰρήνης. Hymn ad calc. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. iii. Oper. p. 266, 267, 268. Colon. 1688.

The peculiarity of this hymn is the profuse accumulation of titles and epithets upon Christ the object of worship. Hence I think it not unlikely, that it is the precise *Hymn of many names* referred to by the scoffing pagan author of the *Philopatris*. Τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπὸ Πατρὸς ἀρξάμενος, καὶ τὴν πολυώνυμον ᾠδὴν εἰς

3. Liturgical hymns of the precise character of those, which the lapsed described upon evidence to Pliny, which are appealed to with much particularity by the old writer cited in Eusebius, and of which a specimen has actually come down to us from Clement of Alexandria, still, as we learn from Origen, continued to be used by the faithful in the middle of the third century.

In point of character, they were hymns, addressed conjointly to God the Father and to God the Word his only-begotten Son : and the plural form, in which he mentions their use, sufficiently proves ; that they were no mere private unauthorised compositions, but that they were part and parcel of the regular public service of the entire Church Catholic.

*We recite hymns, says he, to the alone God who is over all, and to his only-begotten Son God the Word : and thus we hymn God and his only-begotten*¹.

τέλος ἐπιθείς. Philopatr. in Oper. Lucian. vol. iii. Probably he was struck with the resemblance of its plan to that of the old Orphic Hymns, which similarly accumulate epithet upon epithet and title upon title.

¹ Ὑμνους γὰρ εἰς μόνον τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι λέγομεν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Θεὸν Λόγον· καὶ ὑμνοῦμέν γε Θεὸν καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 422.

Nothing more completely shews the true character and purport of these hymns to Christ as God, than the circumstance : that Paul of Samosata, who denied the divinity of our Lord, caused them, on the idle and readily confuted plea of novelty,

to be *removed* from the churches under his controul. Ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας, ὡς δὴ νεωτέρους καὶ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα. Epist. Patr. Antioch. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 30. Very possibly, the hymns discarded by Paul on the plea of novelty, might be new in *one* sense, though old in *another*. They might have been recent compositions *themselves*, though as every individual well knew, constructed on the *same* plan, and teaching the *same* doctrine, as the more ancient hymns. Had they contained any *doctrinal innovation*, a reference to the older hymns would have immediately detected it.

CHAPTER IV.

RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY, AFFORDED, TO THE FACT
OF THE POSITIVE ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF
CHRIST'S ESSENTIAL DIVINITY, BY THE ADORATION
WHICH HE INVARIABLY RECEIVED FROM THE EARLY
CHRISTIANS.

THE notion of *Essential Divinity*, and the notion of *Divine Worship*, are reciprocal and correlative.

If the early Christians believed Christ to be very God, they would adore him with divine worship : and, if they adored him with divine worship, they must have believed him to be very God.

Such divine worship, on the supposition of its having been paid, would, I think, be irreconcilable with any modification of the Arian system, save at the expence of making the early Christians gross and direct idolaters.

However, on that System, we may elevate Christ, as a being far superior to the whole angelic host, and as the operative agent through whom God created the world : yet, if, after all our grandiloquence, he himself were strictly a mere

creature, he would, in that case, be still to God immeasurably inferior, while to man he would only be measureably superior. For his relation to God would be that of finite to infinite : while his relation to man could only be that of finite to finite.

Now the payment of strict and proper divine worship to *any* creature *whatsoever*, highly as that creature may be exalted in nature and in office above all other creatures, is doubtless an act of idolatry.

Nor can the unintelligible distinction of the Arian School, that *The Son is a creature though not as the creature*¹, afford any legitimate escape from the express determination of God himself : *I am Jehovah ; that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another*².

If, therefore, the early believers adored Christ under any other aspect than that of very and eternal and uncreated God, we shall, on scriptural principles at least, be compelled to admit : that, what has hitherto been always deemed the *purest* age of the Church, was, in effect, polluted with *rank idolatry*.

On this point, the reasoning of Dr. Priestley is altogether unexceptionable.

Christ, he asserts, was NEVER, with the early

¹ Κτίσμα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς τὸ κτίσμα.

² Isaiah xlii. 8.

Christians, an object of prayer. THEREFORE, he argues, the early Christians could not have believed Christ to be God ¹.

¹ I subjoin Dr. Priestley's own statement of his argument, hoping, that the cautious inquirer will carefully bear in memory the *alleged* FACT upon which it is avowedly founded.

Supposing the second person in the Trinity to be our independent maker and governor and final judge, the propriety of praying to him is so obvious, that no consideration whatever could have prevented the practice, if such had been the real belief of the Christian World from the beginning. That Christians did NOT do so at first, but prayed habitually to the Father ONLY, is, therefore, with me, almost a demonstration, that they did not consider Christ in that light. Whatever they might think of him, they did NOT regard him as a proper object of worship, and consequently NOT as possessed of the attributes which are proper to constitute him one, and therefore NOT as truly God. The persuasion, that he was TRULY God and that God on whom we immediately depend, would UNAVOIDABLY have drawn after it the habitual practice of praying to him.—

This argument I recommend to the serious consideration of all Trinitarians : as it is with me a sufficient proof, that originally Christ was NOT considered as a proper object of worship by Christians ; and, consequently, NEITHER as God, NOR as the maker and governor of the world under God. Hist. of Early Opin. Introd. sect. iii. Works vol. vi. p. 30, 31.

I quite agree with Dr. Priestley, in recommending, to the serious attention of all Trinitarians, the preceding argument and the *asserted* FACT upon which it reposes : and I would yet further extend the recommendation to all Antitrinitarians.

What Dr. Priestley means, by starting, in the form of a supposition, the dogma, that *The second person in the Trinity is our INDEPENDENT maker and governor and final judge* : I pretend not to determine. If he would *thus* intimate, that *Trini-*

Such is the argument of Dr. Priestley. But, by the very nature of its construction, he thence plainly and inevitably allows: that the early Christians *must* have believed Christ to be God, IF, with them, Christ *had* been an object of prayer.

In the present argument, the soundness of Dr. Priestley's *conclusion* will readily be admitted. But, whether the *premises*, whence he deduces his conclusion, be equally incontrovertible, is purely a question of FACT: a question, therefore, which, like any other similar historical question, must be determined by competent evidence.

Dr. Priestley, we see, professedly deduces his conclusion from the alleged FACT: that *The early Christians, NOT regarding Christ as a proper object of worship, NEVER invoked him with divine adoration.*

Hence, even by himself, the whole matter is brought to a mere question of FACT: and hence, with his own free consent, I have simply to inquire, *Whether Dr. Priestley's allegation is contradicted or supported by historical testimony*; in other words, I have simply to inquire, *Whether the early Christians did or did not worship Christ.*

I. About the year 310, or almost immediately *tarians hold the Son's absolute INDEPENDENCE upon the Paternal Fountain of Deity* (as the ancients speak): he shews himself lamentably ignorant of the very question which he professes to discuss. Trinitarians fully assent to John v. 19.

before the session of the first Nicene Council, flourished the eloquent Lactantius.

I now, says he, come to the passion of Christ. This is wont to be opprobriously objected to us, on the ground : that WE WORSHIP ONE, WHO WAS A MAN HIMSELF, AND WHO BY MEN WAS IGNOMINIOUSLY PUNISHED AND TORTURED.—He, however, the supreme and singular God, cannot be worshipped, except through his Son. The man who thinks that he worships the Father alone, inasmuch as he does not worship the Son, thence neither worships the Father. But THE MAN, WHO RECEIVES THE SON AND WHO BEARS HIS NAME : THAT MAN, TOGETHER WITH THE SON, WORSHIPS THE FATHER ALSO ¹.

II. Arnobius was somewhat earlier than Lactantius : and we may state him as living about the year 303.

Since Christ, says he, is God in reality and without the slightest ambiguity of doubt : do you imagine we shall ever deny, that HE IS WORSHIPPED BY US IN THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE DEGREE ? Some one, maddened and enraged, will say : What then, is that Christ,

¹ Venio nunc ad ipsam passionem : quæ velut opprobrium nobis objectari solet, quod et hominem, et ab hominibus insigni supplicio affectum et excruciatum, colamus.—Non potest igitur ille summus ac singularis Deus, nisi per Filium, coli. Qui solum Patrem se colere putat ; sicut Filium non colit, ita ne Patrem quidem. Qui autem Filium suscipit, et nomen ejus gerit : is vero, cum Filio, simul et Patrem colit. Lactant. Instit. lib. iv. § 16, 29. p. 400, 447. Lugd. Batav. 1660.

God? Yes, we answer: he is God, and God of the very inner potency ¹.

The language of Arnobius, running as it does in the plural form, clearly imports: that the whole collective body of Christians in his time, on the specific ground of their holding Christ to be strictly and essentially God, worshipped him with the highest divine adoration.

III. Accordingly, that such was the universal faith and practice of the entire Church Catholic of this period, may be yet further learned from a circumstance which occurred during the fury of the persecution carried on by Diocletian.

In Phrygia, says the historian Eusebius, an entire city of Christians, together with its inhabitants, was surrounded by the soldiers. For the destruction of these devoted men, the agency of fire was employed: and, with their wives and children, they perished in the flames, LOUDLY CALLING UPON CHRIST THE GOD OVER ALL ².

¹ Cum vero Deus sit re certa et sine ullius rei dubitationis ambiguo, inficiaturos arbitramini nos esse, quam maxime illum a nobis coli et præsidem nostri corporis nuncupari? *Ergone, inquiet aliquis, furens, iratus, et percitus, Deus ille est Christus? Deus, respondebimus, et interiorum potentiarum Deus.* Arnob. adv. gent. lib. i. p. 24.

² "Ἡδὴ γοῦν ὅλην Χριστιανῶν πολίχνην αὐτανδρον ἀμφὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβαλόντες ὀπλῖται, πῦρ τε ὑφάψαντες, κατέφλεξαν αὐτοὺς, ἅμα νηπίοις καὶ γυναιξί, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιβοωμένους. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. c. 11.

Some

IV. In the year 260, flourished Dionysius of Alexandria. During his time, Paul of Samosata asserted Christ to be a mere man, and thence consistently denied that he was to be worshipped with divine adoration. Respecting this his opinion, Dionysius addressed to him a letter : in which he charged him with notoriously running counter to the invariable judgment and constant practice of the entire Church Catholic.

How say you : that Christ is merely an eminent man, and that he is not THE TRUE GOD WHO IS TO BE

Some have conjectured, that, in this passage, the conjunction καὶ ought to be inserted between Θεὸν and Χριστόν : others, that the word Χριστόν is an interpolation.

Each conjecture is built on the principle, that the words of the invocation are those not of the Phrygian martyrs but of the historian himself, and that such phraseology accords not with the ordinary phraseology of Eusebius.

I cannot but deem such criticism not a little arbitrary. Without a shadow of proof, it is first assumed, that the words of the invocation are the words of Eusebius, and that they are *not* (as they naturally purport to be) the honestly recorded words of the martyrs themselves : and, upon this perfectly gratuitous assumption, it is next asserted, without a shadow of evidence, that the passage has been corrupted. Truly, we shall make quick work with an ancient author, if such liberties be warrantable.

With respect to Eusebius himself, the subject of this criticism, he employs a nearly similar expression in describing the conduct of Porphyrius at his martyrdom. He says of him, that he suffered, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦν βοηθὸν ἐπιβόώμενος. Euseb. de Martyr. Palæst. c. xi. p. 277. Paris. 1678.

WORSHIPPED ABOVE THE WHOLE CREATION CONJOINTLY WITH THE FATHER AND THE HOLY GHOST; *him I mean, who became incarnate from Mary the holy virgin and mother of God?—For, on our account, he submitted to be born of woman. Whence also, for our sake, having emptied himself, he submitted to suffering: and, though he humbled himself to death even the death of the cross, yet with God he is equal*¹.

We may remark: that the worship of Christ is here fixed upon its only legitimate basis, *the circumstance of his essential divinity.*

V. Contemporaneously with Dionysius flourished the Latin Father Novatian: for he lived about the year 254.

This writer argues, that Christ cannot but be God: and he rests his argument upon the fact of Christ's omnipresence, as involved in the then familiar circumstance of his universally receiving religious invocation.

If Christ were only a man: how, WHEN INVOCATED, is he every where present? For omnipresence

¹ Πῶς σὺ λέγεις, ἄνθρωπον κατεξαίρετον τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ οὐ Θεὸν ὄντα ἀληθινόν, καὶ προσκυνούμενον παρὰ πάσης κτίσεως σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας;—Δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ κατεδέξατο γενέσθαι ἐκ γυναικὸς· ὅθεν καὶ τὸ πάθος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατεδέξατο, κενώσας ἑαυτόν· καὶ, ταπεινῶσας ἕως θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ, ἴσα Θεοῦ ὑπάρχει. Dionys. Alex. Epist. adv. Paul. Samosat. Oper. p. 210, 211. Rom. 1796.

is the nature, not of man, but of God. IF CHRIST WERE ONLY A MAN : WHY, IN OUR PRAYERS, IS A MAN INVOCATED AS OUR MEDIATOR ? *Since, to afford us salvation, the invocation of a mere man may well be deemed inefficacious* ¹.

VI. To the same age belonged Cyprian : for we may place him about the year 250. His testimony to the FACT of Christ being universally invoked perfectly agrees with that of the witnesses already adduced.

God the Father commanded : that HIS OWN SON SHOULD BE ADORED. The Apostle Paul, therefore, mindful of the divine precept, determines and says : God hath highly exalted him : and hath given him a name which is above every name ; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and of things in earth, and of things under the earth. In the Apocalypse, also, the angel resists John when wishing to adore him, and says : See thou do it not ; for I am thy fellow-servant and of thy brethren : ADORE THE LORD JESUS ².

¹ Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo adest ubique invocatus ; cum hæc hominis natura non sit, sed Dei, ut adesse omni loco possit ? Si homo tantummodo Christus, cur homo in orationibus mediator invocatur ; cum invocatio hominis ad præstandam salutem inefficax judicetur ? Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 610.

² Pater Deus præcepit Filium suum adorari : et Apostolus Paulus, divini præcepti memor, ponit et dicit : *Deus exaltavit eum, et donavit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen ; ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur, cælestium, terrestrium, et infer-*

*The brethren who are in chains, and the presbyters, and the whole Church which with the greatest anxiety watches for ALL WHO INVOCATE THE NAME OF THE LORD, salute you*¹.

*If Christ laboured and watched and prayed for us and for our sins : how much more ought we to be urgent in our supplications. HOW MUCH MORE OUGHT WE FIRST TO PRAY AND TO BESEECH THE LORD HIMSELF, and then through him to satisfy God the Father. We have an advocate and a deprecator for our sins, even Jesus Christ our Lord and our God*².

By how much the greater anxiety we felt for those confessors, who through craft were circumvented, and

norum : et, in Apocalypsi, angelus Johanni volenti adorare se resistit et dicit : Vide ne feceris, quia conservus tuus sum et fratrum tuorum ; Jesum Dominum adora. Cyprian. de bon. patient. Oper. vol. i. p. 220. Oxon. 1682.

Cyprian seems to have read *τῷ κυρίῳ προσκύνησον*, and by *τῷ κυρίῳ* to have understood Christ. This peculiar mode of quotation, however, I am no way concerned with : for my object is simply to bring evidence to the *fact*, that the early Christians of the three first centuries habitually worshipped Christ as God.

¹ *Salutant vos fratres qui sunt in vinculis, et presbyteri, et tota Ecclesia, quæ et ipsa cum summa sollicitudine excubat pro omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini. Cyprian. Epist. viii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 18.*

² *Quod si pro nobis ac pro delictis nostris ille et laborabat et vigilabat et precabatur, quanto nos magis insistere precibus et orare, et primo ipsum Dominum rogare, tum deinde per ipsum Deo Patri satisfacere debemus. Habemus advocatum et deprecatorem pro peccatis nostris Jesum Christum Dominum et Deum nostrum. Cyprian. Epist. xi. Oper. vol. ii. p. 25.*

who were well nigh deceived and alienated from the Church : with so much the greater joy were we affected, and with so much the more devotion DID WE OFFER UP THANKSGIVINGS TO THE OMNIPOTENT GOD AND TO CHRIST OUR LORD, when, perceiving their error, they freely returned to the Church whence they had departed.—These matters, therefore, dearest brother, we transmitted to thee in writing : that, without any delay, as if present in that Convocation of the Clergy and in that Assembly of the People, THOU Wouldest OFFER UP THANKSGIVINGS TO THE OMNIPOTENT GOD AND TO CHRIST OUR LORD ¹.

We profess, dearest brother : that WE BOTH HAVE OFFERED UP AND DO OFFER UP, WITHOUT CEASING, THE GREATEST THANKSGIVINGS TO GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY AND TO HIS CHRIST OUR LORD AND GOD AND SAVIOUR, that the Church is thus divinely protected ².

¹ Quantam sollicitudinem et anxietatem sustinuimus de iis confessoribus, qui, dolo et malitia hominis callidi et veteratoris, fuerant circumventi, et pene decepti, et ab Ecclesia alienati ; tanta lætitia adfecti sumus, et Deo Omnipotenti et Christo Domino nostro gratias egimus, cum ii, cognito suo errore, et intellecta hominis maligni velut serpentis astutia venenata, ad Ecclesiam, unde exierant, sicut ipsi ex suo corde profitentur, simplici voluntate venerunt.—Hæc igitur, frater carissime, eadem hora, eodem momento, ad te scripta transmisimus ;—ut, nulla procrastinatione habita, velut præsens in isto Clero et in isto Populi cœtu, Deo Omnipotenti et Christo Domino nostro gratias ageres. Cyprian. Epist. xlix. Oper. vol. ii. p. 92, 93.

² Et egisse nos et agere, frater carissime, maximas gratias, sine cessatione, profiteamur, Deo Patri Omnipotenti et Christo

VII. Let us next hear the testimony of Origen, who flourished about the year 240.

WE WORSHIP ONE GOD, THE FATHER AND THE SON.—
Nor do we adore, with too excessive a degree of worship, a person who appeared but the other day, as if he had previously existed not. For we believe him, when he said ; Before Abraham was, I am : and when he said ; I am the Truth. Inasmuch as no person among us is such a besotted slave, as to imagine : that the substance of the Truth existed not before the times of the bodily coming of Christ. WE WORSHIP, THEREFORE, THE FATHER OF THE TRUTH AND THE SON THE TRUTH, being two in point of person, but being one in consent and agreement and identity of will. So that he, who has seen the Son (since the Son is the brightness from the glory and the very impress of the substance of God), has seen God in him who is the image of God.—THE ONE GOD, AND HIS ONE SON AND WORD AND IMAGE, WE WORSHIP WITH PRAYERS AND HONOURS ACCORDING TO OUR POWER ; offering up our supplications to the God of all things through his only-begotten Son : TO WHOM, INDEED, WE ADDRESS THEM FIRST ; beseeching him, inasmuch as he is the propitiation for our sins, to offer, as our High-Priest, both our prayers and our sacrifices and our intercessions to him who is God over all¹.

ejus Domino et Deo nostro Salvatori, quod sic Ecclesia divinitus protegatur. Cyprian. Epist. I. Oper. vol. ii. p. 94.

¹ "Ενα οὖν Θεόν, ὡς ἀποδεδώκαμεν, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν,

We must pray to the alone God who is over all : and WE MUST PRAY TO THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN, EVEN TO HIM WHO WAS BORN BEFORE THE WHOLE CREATION, THE WORD OF GOD ¹.

VIII. Exactly the same testimony is borne by Tertullian, who lived about the year 200.

The kingdom and the name of Christ are every where extended. Every where he is believed on. BY ALL THE ABOVE SPECIFIED NATIONS HE IS WORSHIPPED. *Every where he reigns.* EVERY WHERE

θεραπεύομεν.—Καὶ οὐ τὸν ἑναγχός γε φανέντα, ὥς πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα, ὑπερβησκέομεν· αὐτῷ γὰρ πειθόμεθα τῷ εἰπόντι, Πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγὼ εἰμι· καὶ λέγοντι, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια· καὶ οὐχ οὕτω τις ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἀνδράποδον, ὥς οἶσθαι ὅτι ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας οὐσία πρὸ τῶν χρόνων τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιφανείας οὐκ ἦν. Θρησκέομεν οὖν τὸν Πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁμοιοῖα καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος· ὥς τὸν ἑωρακότα τὸν Υἱὸν (ὄντα ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, καὶ χαρακτῆρα τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ) ἑωρακέναι ἐν αὐτῷ, ὄντι εἰκόνι τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν Θεόν.—Τὸν ἕνα Θεόν, καὶ τὸν ἕνα Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Λόγον καὶ Εἰκόνα, ταῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν ἱκεσίαις καὶ ἀξιώσεσι σέβομεν, προσάγοντες τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὅλων τὰς εὐχὰς διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ· ᾧ πρῶτον προσφέρομεν αὐτὰς, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν, ἰλασμόν ὄντα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, προσαγαγεῖν, ὥς ἀρχιερέα, καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις ἡμῶν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 386.

¹ Μόνῳ γὰρ προσευκτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ· καὶ προσευκτέον γε τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ πάσης κτίσεως, Λόγῳ Θεοῦ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 395. I have already cited another passage to the same effect from Ibid. p. 422. See above, book i. chap. 3. § iv. 3.

HE IS ADORED. *Among all he is equally distributed. With him, a king has no especial favour : to him, an imperious barbarian is no matter of exultation. In his eyes, personal dignity and high nobility of birth possess no peculiar merit. To all, he is equal : to all, he is their King : to all, he is their Judge : to all, he is their God and their Lord*¹.

*Finally, with respect to the expression An Eternal Throne, such an expression agrees better with Christ the Son of God, than with Solomon a temporal king who reigned only over Israel. For, AT THIS DAY, NATIONS, WHICH ONCE KNEW HIM NOT, INVOCATE CHRIST : and, at this day, tribes flee for refuge to Christ, of whom formerly they were ignorant*².

IX. We now come to the evidence of Clement of Alexandria, who flourished about the year 194,

¹ Christi autem regnum et nomen ubique porrigitur. Ubique creditur : ab omnibus gentibus supra enumeratis colitur : ubique regnat : ubique adoratur : omnibus ubique tribuitur æqualiter : non regis apud illum major gratia : non barbari alicujus imperiosi lætitia : non dignitatum aut natalium cujusquam discreta merita : omnibus, æqualis ; omnibus, rex ; omnibus, judex ; omnibus, Deus et Dominus est. Tertull. adv. Jud. Oper. p. 126. See also Tertull. Apol. adv. Gent. Oper. p. 848.

² Denique et Thronus in ævum magis Christo Dei Filio competit, quam Salamoni temporali scilicet regi qui soli Israel regnavit. Christum enim hodie invocant nationes, quæ eum non sciebant : et populi hodie ad Christum confugiunt, quem retro ignorabant. Tertull. adv. Jud. Oper. p. 142. Nearly the same passage occurs also in Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iii. § 14. Oper. p. 210, 211.

and who claims to have personally received the apostolic seed of his doctrine and practice from those holy men who had themselves been instructed by Peter and James and John and Paul¹.

*Believe, O man, him, who is at once both man and God : believe, O man, him, who suffered, and WHO YET AS THE LIVING GOD IS WORSHIPPED*².

*For the Lord perfected not, in a short time, so great a work, without the divine providence : in appearance, despicable ; IN FACT, WORSHIPPED ; the purifier, and the saviour, and the benignant ; the divine Word, who is truly God most manifest, who is equalled to the Lord of all things, because he was his Son, and the Word was in God*³.

As for what remains in such a panegyric of the Word, TO THE WORD LET US THUS OFFER UP OUR PRAYERS.

¹ Οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς μακαρίας σώζοντες διδασκαλίας παράδοσιν, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Πέτρον τε καὶ Ἰακώβου, Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Παύλου, τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχόμενος· ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ πατράσιν ὅμοιοι· ἤκον δὲ σὺν Θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ προγονικὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀποστολικά καταθησόμενοι σπέρματα. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. Oper. p. 274, 275. Colon. 1688.

² Πίστευσον, ἄνθρωπε, ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ Θεῷ· πίστευσον, ἄνθρωπε, τῷ παθόντι, καὶ προσκυνουμένῳ Θεῷ ζῶντι. Clem. Admon. ad Gent. Oper. p. 66.

³ Οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοσοῦτον ἔργον, ἄνευ θείας κηδεμονίας, ἐξήνυσεν ὁ Κύριος, ὅψει καταφρονούμενος, ἔργῳ προσκυνούμενος, ὁ καθάριστος καὶ σωτήριος καὶ μετρίχιος, ὁ θεῖος Λόγος, ὁ φανερώτατος ὄντως Θεός, ὁ τῷ δεσπότη τῶν ὅλων ἐξισωθείς· ὅτι ἦν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ. Clem. Admon. ad Gent. Oper. p. 68.

O thou, the instructor, be propitious to thy children : FATHER, CHARIOTEER OF ISRAEL, SON AND FATHER, BOTH ONE, O LORD ! Grant unto us, who follow thy commandments, to accomplish the likeness of thy image, and to apprehend, according to our strength, the good God and the clement Judge : and grant universally, that, when, in tranquil agreement with the Holy Spirit, we shall wavelessly have sailed over the flood of sin, we, living in thy peace, may be translated to thy city. BY NIGHT, BY DAY, EVEN TO THE PERFECT DAY, LET US OFFER PRAISE AND THANKSGIVING, TO THE INEFFABLE WISDOM, TO THE ALONE FATHER AND SON, TO THE SON AND THE FATHER, TO THE SON THE INSTRUCTOR AND TEACHER, AND TOGETHER ALSO WITH THEM TO THE HOLY GHOST. All things are to the One : in whom are all things : on account of whom, all things are one : on account of whom, is eternity : whose members we all are : whose are the glory, the worlds. To the Good are all things : to the Excellent are all things : to the Wise are all things : to the Just are all things. To whom be glory, both now and for ever. Amen ¹.

¹ "Ὅπερ μὲν λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ πανηγύρει τοῦ Λόγου, τῷ Λόγῳ προσευξώμεθα.

Ἰλάθῃ τοῖς σοῖς, παιδαγωγέ, παιδίῳ, Πάτερ, ἡνίοχε Ἰσραὴλ, Υἱὲ καὶ Πατὲρ, ἐν ἁμῶν, Κύριε. Δὸς δὲ ἡμῖν, τοῖς σοῖς ἐπομένοισι παραγγέλμασι, τὸ ὁμοίωμα πληρῶσαι τῆς εἰκόνης, αἰσθάνεσθαι τε, κατὰ κράτος, ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ κριτοῦ τε μὴ πικροῦ· καὶ πάρασχε ἅπαντα αὐτὸς, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τῇ σῇ πολιτευομένους, ἐν τῇ σῇ μετατιθεμένους πόλει, ἀκυμάντως τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸν κλύ-

X. From the testimony of Clement, let us ascend to that of Melito of Sardis, who flourished about the year 170.

We are worshippers, not of stones which possess no sensation, but of the only God who is before all things and above all things. And WE ARE WORSHIPERS LIKEWISE OF HIS CHRIST, TRULY, BEFORE THE WORLDS, GOD THE WORD ¹.

XI. I shall next, in the regular order of retrogressive chronology, cite a competent pagan witness to the naked FACT: that *The adoration of Christ was the uniform practice of the early Church.*

Lucian of Samosata is commonly thought to have been born in the year 90 and to have died in the year 180. Hence, at the lowest computation, we may view him as flourishing about the year 150 or about the middle of the second century.

δωνα διαπλεύσαντας, γαληνιῶντας ἀγίῳ συμφέρεσθαι Πνεύματι. Σοφία τῇ ἀνεκφράστῳ, νύκτωρ, μεθ' ἡμέραν, εἰς τὴν τελείαν ἡμέραν, εὐχαριστοῦντας αἰνεῖν, αἰνοῦντας εὐχαριστεῖν, τῷ μονῷ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, Υἱῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, παιδαγωγῷ καὶ διδασκάλῳ Υἱῷ, σὺν καὶ τῷ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι· πάντα τῷ ἐνί· ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα· δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα ἔν· δι' ὃν τὸ αἰεὶ· οὗ μέλη πάντες· οὗ δόξα, αἰῶνες· πάντα τῷ ἀγαθῷ, πάντα τῷ καλῷ, πάντα τῷ σοφῷ, τῷ δικαίῳ τὰ πάντα· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Clem. Pædag. lib. iii. c. 12. Oper. p. 266.

¹ Οὐκ ἐσμὲν λίθων οὐδεμίαν αἴσθησιν ἐχόντων θεραπευνταί, ἀλλὰ μόνου Θεοῦ τοῦ πρὸ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων· καὶ ἔτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅντως Θεοῦ Λόγου πρὸ αἰώνων, ἔσμεν θρησκευταί. Melit. Apol. in Chron. Pasch. ad A. D. 164, 165. apud Routh. Relig. Sacr. vol. i. p. 112.

This man resided, for a considerable time, at Antioch : where a flourishing Church had been planted by the Apostles themselves, and where the disciples of our Lord were first called *Christians*.

He may be considered, therefore, as an important witness, because a concurring and uncontradicted witness, to the doctrine and to the practice of the primitive believers his contemporaries and fellow-citizens.

CHRISTIANS STILL WORSHIP THAT GREAT MAN, WHO WAS CRUCIFIED IN PALESTINE ; *because he introduced into life these new mysteries.—For this first law-giver of theirs persuaded them : that, when they should once have rejected the gods of Greece, and should have agreed TO WORSHIP THEIR CRUCIFIED SOPHIST, and should have undertaken to live according to his laws, they would all become brethren to each other*¹.

The testimony of Lucian, we may observe, vouches for the ecclesiastical practice, not only of the middle of the second century, but likewise of a period yet more early. Speaking of his own times, this writer attests : that Christians, renouncing the

¹ Τὸν μέγαν γοῦν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι σέβουσιν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα, ὅτι καινὴν ταύτην τελετὴν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον.—Ἐπειτα δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ πρῶτος ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πάντες εἶεν ἀλλήλων· ἐπειδὴν, ἅπαξ παρὰ πάντες, θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ἀπαρνῆσονται, τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους βιώσι. Lucian. de mort. Peregrin. Oper. vol. iii. p. 333, 334, 337, 338. Reitz. Amstel. 1743.

adoration of the gentile gods, *still* worshipped him that was crucified. Now the word *still*, when thus employed, evidently imports: that Christians continued *then* to do, what they were well known to have *always* done.

XII. With this testimony of Lucian, the dying prayer of the venerable Polycarp, and the language of the Church of Smyrna in communicating the particulars of his martyrdom, will be found exactly to correspond: a circumstance, which, as Polycarp sealed the truth with his blood in the year 147, shews, that, in respect at least to the adoration of Christ, Lucian did not misrepresent the primitive Christians ¹.

¹ I follow Bishop Pearson in assigning the year 147, as the date of Polycarp's martyrdom. It strikes me, as being much more probable, than any one of the several years 166 or 167 or 169 or 175, which have been variously selected by Tillemont and Basnage and Usher and Petit and other writers.

If Polycarp were appointed Bishop of Smyrna *by the Apostles*, a fact asserted by his pupil Irenæus; it is difficult to comprehend, how his martyrdom can have occurred much later than the year 147: for St. John, who outlived all his brethren, died in the year 100. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 3. § 3. p. 171. He suffered, it is true, in extreme old age; *valdè senex*, as Irenæus speaks: and he himself intimates, that, at the time of his martyrdom, he had served Christ *eighty and six years*, reckoning from the date of his conversion. Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. § ix. Patr. Apost. Cotel. vol. ii. p. 198. Yet, to make the arrangement consistent, his age, on the hypothesis that he suffered in the year 166 or 167 or 169 or 175, must have been well nigh incredible. We can scarcely suppose a man, in the evidently

1. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, had been, by the Apostles appointed Bishop of Smyrna in the course of the first century.

At the stake, he is recorded to have used the following prayer.

O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy well-beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received the knowledge of thee ; God of angels and powers and the whole creation and the entire race of the just who live before thee : I bless thee, that thou hast thought me worthy of this day and hour, that I may receive a portion in the number of thy martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life, both of the soul and of the body, in the incorruptibility of the Holy Ghost : among whom may I be received today before thee, in

full possession of his faculties, to have *exceeded* a century. Now, according to *this* estimate, if, at the age of a century, Polycarp suffered martyrdom *even so early* as the year 166 ; which is the *earliest* of the four proposed later dates : he must have been born in the year 66. But, by reason of their several deaths, he could not have been appointed Bishop *by the Apostles* (Irenèus speaks plurally, *ab Apostolis*), later than about the year 83. Therefore, if he suffered in the year 166, and if consequently he were born in the year 66 ; he could not have been older than seventeen years, when appointed Bishop by the Apostles : a matter quite incredible.

The precise date of the martyrdom, however, is of no consequence to my present inquiry. *Whenever* Polycarp suffered, the doctrine, which he taught in the Church of Smyrna, would be the doctrine which he received from St. John.

a fat and acceptable sacrifice, as thou, the true God, hast prepared and premanifested and fulfilled. On account of this, and concerning all things, I praise thee, and bless thee, and glorify thee, TOGETHER WITH THE ETERNAL AND SUPERCELESTIAL JESUS CHRIST THY BELOVED SON: WITH WHOM, TO THEE AND TO THE HOLY GHOST, BE GLORY BOTH NOW AND FOR EVER. Amen ¹.

¹ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Πατὴρ, δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν εἰλήφαμεν, ὁ Θεὸς ἀγγέλων καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως καὶ παντὸς τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων οἱ ζῶσιν ἐνώπιόν σου· εὐλογῶ σε, ὅτι ἡξίωσάς με, τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ταύτης, τοῦ λαβεῖν με μέρος ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν μαρτύρων σου, ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου, ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος, ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου· ἐν οἷς προσδεχθείην ἐνώπιόν σου σήμερον, ἐν θυσίᾳ πίονι καὶ προσδεκτῇ, καθὼς προητοίμασας καὶ προεφάνερωσας καὶ ἐπλήρωσας, ὁ ἀψευδὴς καὶ ἀληθινὸς Θεός. Διὰ τοῦτο, καὶ περὶ πάντων, αἰνῶ σε, εὐλογῶ σε, δοξάζω σε, σὺν τῷ αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἀγαπητῷ σου παιδί, μεθ' οὗ σοι καὶ Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ ἡ δόξα, καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Epist. Cathol. Eccles. Smyrn. § xiv. in Patr. Apost. Cotel. vol. ii. p. 200, 201.

As exhibited by Eusebius, the concluding doxology of this prayer is slightly varied.

Διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀρχιέρεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδὸς· δι' οὗ, σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ, δόξα, καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 15. p. 108.

Through the eternal high-priest Jesus Christ, thy beloved son: through whom, to thee with himself, in the Holy Ghost, be glory, both now and for ever. Amen.

According to either reading, whether that of the Smyrnæan

2. That the concluding doxology of this sublime prayer was, on the part of Polycarp, *a solemn act of worship addressed to the Son conjointly with the Father and the Holy Ghost*, is, both abundantly evident in itself, and yet additionally manifest from the subsequent language of his Smyrnæans in the encyclical Epistle which they addressed to the Catholic Church at large relative to the martyrdom of their Bishop.

His flock, whom he had faithfully fed during the term of more than half a century, and who *must* therefore have well and familiarly known the doctrinal sentiments of their apostolic pastor : while they rejected with horror the very notion of their adoring Polycarp, when, by their enemies, the possibility of their adopting such a practice was maliciously intimated ; and while they carefully and accurately distinguished, between their *brotherly love* of the martyrs, and their *direct worship* of Christ as being the Son of God : both fully acknowledged, and unreservedly vindicated, their proper adoration of their Redeemer.

Epistle or that of Eusebius, the prayer of Polycarp concludes with a solemn joint doxology to the three persons of the Trinity : the Son being consistently styled, either *the eternal and super-celestial Jesus Christ*, or *the eternal high-priest Jesus Christ*.

The old Latin version of Ruffinus is to the same purpose, though with yet another variation.

Per æternum Deum et pontificem Jesum Christum, dilectum Filium tuum : per quem et cum quo, tibi cum Spiritu Sancto, gloria.

When the envious and the wicked one, the adversary of the race of the just, saw the greatness of his martyrdom,—he laboured industriously, that his remains might not be taken away by us.—Hence, he suggested to Nicetas, the father of Herod and the brother of Alcè, to make application to the governor, that his body should not be delivered for sepulture : LEST, said he, LEAVING THE CRUCIFIED ONE, THEY SHOULD BEGIN TO WORSHIP THIS PERSON. And these things they alleged at the suggestion and instigation of the Jews, who also watched us when we were about to take him from the fire. For they were ignorant : that neither can we ever forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the saved throughout the whole world, the sinless for sinners ; nor that we can ever worship any other beside him. Because HIM TRULY, INASMUCH AS HE IS THE SON OF GOD, WE ADORE : but the martyrs, as disciples and imitators of the Lord, on account of their special affection to their own King and Master, we worthily love. With whom may we be partakers and fellow-disciples ¹ !

¹ Ὁ δὲ ἀντίζηλος καὶ βάσκανος καὶ πονηρὸς, ὁ ἀντικείμενος τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων, ἰδὼν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας,—ἐπετήδευσεν, ὥς μηδὲ τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ληφθεῖν.—Ἐπέβαλε γοῦν Νικήτην, τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀλκῆς, ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι, ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ταφῇ· μή, φησιν, ἀφέντες πὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἄρξωνται σέβεσθαι. Καὶ ταῦτα εἶπον, ὑποβαλλόντων καὶ ἐνισχύοντων Ἰουδαίων, οἳ καὶ ἐτήρησαν, μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς λαμβάνειν· ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνήσομεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτη-

From this passage, it is evident: that the primitive Church of Smyrna, the very flock of the Apostolic Polycarp, *positively adored* Christ, while they *simply loved* the holy martyrs as his disciples. For not only are the two expressions, *ADORE* and *LOVE*, industriously placed in avowed contradistinction: but likewise the worship paid to Christ is systematically made to rest upon the circumstance of his being *The Son of God*; a title, the ascription of which was, by the early believers, deemed equivalent to an ascription of proper and essential divinity¹.

From the same passage, it is further evident: that the practice of the Smyrnèans was so familiarly notorious, as to be well known to their ad-

ρίας παθόντα, ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα σέβασθαι. Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ, Υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ, προσκυνοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ κυρίου, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως, ἕνεκα εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· ᾧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι. Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. § xvii. in Patr. Apost. Cotel. vol. ii. p. 201, 202.

¹ Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ, Υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ (quippe qui sit Dei Filius), προσκυνοῦμέν.

The perfectly clear and intelligible principle, on which the primitive Church deemed the ascription of the title of *The Son of God* to Christ equivalent to an ascription to him of *real and proper divinity*, was this.

Proper Sonship inevitably imports *Consubstantiality with the Father*: and *Consubstantiality with the Father* no less inevitably imports *Essential Divinity*. See below, append. ii. numb. 10.

versaries both Jews and Gentiles. For, otherwise, it is clear : that, when they wished to pay the rites of decent sepulture to the scorched remains of their martyred Bishop ; no opposition could have been made to them on the expressly specific ground, that any permission to that effect might lead to the worship of Polycarp instead of the worship of Christ. Accordingly, in reply, the Smyrnæans, we see, while they acknowledged and vindicated their worship of Christ, renounced with horror and indignation the very idea of similarly worshipping Polycarp.

Such, then, was the practice of the Church of Smyrna only forty-seven years after the death of St. John : a practice, manifestly inculcated in that Church by Polycarp himself, who had learned his theology from the beloved Apostle, and who by immediate apostolic authority had acted as the chief pastor of that same Church during the uninterrupted term of more than half a century.

XIII. The conversion of Justin Martyr to Christianity must have occurred about the year 130.

For it took place at some indefinite time before his conference with Trypho : and, as we may gather from the Dialogue itself, that conference was held in the precise year 136¹.

Hence, although his first Apology was written,

¹ See above, book i. chap. 3. § III.

as some think, in the year 140; or, as he himself apparently intimates, in the year 150: both the doctrine and the practice, which it sets forth, will obviously be the doctrine and the practice of a much earlier date¹.

Not knowing that certain beings were evil demons, the ancients called them gods.—We, however say: that the perpetrators of the enormities ascribed to them, so far from being upright agents, are absolutely very demons most wicked and most unholy; for they perform actions unlike those of even mere men who delight in virtue. On this account, we are called Atheists. And truly we confess: that we are indeed atheists, in regard to such beings as these who are reckoned gods: but we are not atheists, in regard to the true God, who is the parent of justice and temperance and all other virtues. For HIM, MOST ASSUREDLY; AND HIS SON, WHO CAME FORTH FROM HIM (and who, respecting these things, instructed both us and the army of the other good angels that follow him and that are made like unto him); AND THE PROPHETIC SPIRIT: THESE WE WORSHIP AND WE ADORE, honouring them in word and in truth, and, to every person who wishes to learn, ungrudgingly delivering as we ourselves have been taught².

¹ Ἴνα δὲ μή τινες ἀλογισταίνοντες εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τῶν δεδιδαγμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἴπωσι, πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα γεγεννησθαι τὸν Χριστὸν λέγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κυρηναίου. Apol. i. Oper. p. 65.

² Μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι δαίμονας εἶναι φαύλους, θεοὺς προσωνόμα-

From the plural form of this passage, we distinctly learn : that, about the year 130 when Jus-

ζον.—Τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας δαίμονας, οὐ μόνον μὴ ὀρθοὺς εἶναί, φαμεν, ἀλλὰ κακοὺς καὶ ἀνοσίους δαίμονας, οἳ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀρετὴν ποθοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις τὰς πράξεις ὁμοίας ἔχουσιν. Ἐνθενδε καὶ ἄθεοι κεκλήμεθα· καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν τοιούτων νομιζομένων θεῶν ἄθεοι εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀληθεστάτου, καὶ πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἀνεπιμίκτου Θεοῦ. Ἄλλ' Ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν ἐλθόντα (καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν), Πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικόν, σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες, καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ὥς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀφθόνως παραδιδόντες. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 43.

I. It is a curious circumstance, that Cardinal Bellarmine and Dr. Priestley, whether consciously or not on the part of the latter, should have concurred in their translation or rather perversion of the leading sentence in this passage.

Through the grammatical mechanism of making the substantive *στρατὸν* depend upon the verbs *σεβόμεθα* and *προσκυνοῦμεν*, instead of depending (which is its true construction) upon the participle *διδάξαντα*, they bring out the unexpected result, that Justin, almost at the beginning of the second century and while the prohibitory words of the angel to St. John (Rev. xix. 10. xxii. 8, 9.) were still as it were ringing through the Church Catholic, attested the universal worship of the holy angels on the part of himself and of the whole collective body of Christians.

Him, and the Son that came from him, says Justin, as interpreted by the Cardinal and the Historian, *and the host of other good angels who accompany and resemble him, and the prophetic Spirit, we adore and venerate ; in word and in truth honouring them.*

II. But, while these two divines thus concur in perverting

tin was instructed in the peculiarities of Christianity, the Catholic Church of that period, having

the very intelligible Greek of Justin, their respective objects, as will readily be supposed, are widely different.

The Cardinal, from the alleged testimony of Justin, would prove; that the worship of the holy angels, conjointly with that of the Father and the Son and the Spirit, was the practice of that very early generation of the primitive Church which immediately succeeded the age of the Apostle St. John: the Historian, through a process by no means equally intelligible, would demonstrate; that Justin and his contemporaries did not acknowledge the divinity of the Holy Ghost.

III. With respect to the perversion before us, as Scultet and Bp. Bull have well remarked, its utter untenability is at once shewn by the circumstance of its making Justin contradict himself. Scultet. Medull. Patr. in synth. doctr. Just. Mart. c. xviii. Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. sect. ii. c. 4. § 8.

In this summary manner, so far as its *general* merits are concerned, we may well be content to dismiss it: yet the reader may be curious to know, how, through its medium, Dr. Priestley contrives to demonstrate, that the divinity of the Holy Ghost was not acknowledged by Justin and his contemporaries.

1. *Justin Martyr*, observes the Historian, *never says, in express words, that the Spirit is God in any sense: and, when he mentions worship as due to the Spirit, it is in the same sentence in which he speaks of it as due to angels.* Hist. of Corrupt. part. i. sect. 7. Works vol. v. p. 59.

Then follows, in proof of this statement, the perversion, which is the joint property of himself and Cardinal Bellarmine.

(1.) Such is the not very clear argument of Dr. Priestley. He means, however, I suppose, that, since Justin, according to the perversion of his words, maintains the joint adoration of good angels and of the prophetic Spirit; and since, confessedly,

received her doctrine and practice from the Catholic Church of that yet earlier period which

the good angels are not God : therefore neither, in the opinion of Justin, can the prophetic Spirit be God.

(2.) It almost exceeds belief, that such an argument could ever have been constructed by a person, who had read the entire sentence even in its miserably perverted condition.

If the joint adoration of the angels and the prophetic Spirit will prove, that Justin did not acknowledge the divinity of the Holy Ghost ; it will equally prove, that he did not acknowledge the divinity of the Father : for, even in the Historian's own adopted perversion of the passage, Justin and his contemporaries appear, as the joint worshippers of the Father and the good angels, no less than as the joint worshippers of the good angels and the prophetic Spirit.

2. But *Justin*, it seems, *never says, in express words, that the Spirit is God in any sense.*

(1.) Perhaps he may *not* happen to have used the precise term *God* ; though, even if he *had* done so, we may be assured that Dr. Priestley would have quibbled respecting the import of the title, precisely as he quibbles respecting its import when it is confessedly applied to the Son : but, since, even in the present passage, Justin says, that, by himself and by the whole primitive Catholic Church, the Spirit was adored conjointly with the Son and the Father ; he says, more expressly and less ambiguously than any use of the mere *term* could purport, that, *in the very highest sense, the Spirit is God.* For, unless this be admitted, in attesting the peculiar worship offered up by himself and by the primitive Church, Justin effectively testifies ; that even the Church, which had heard St. John, was nevertheless hopelessly idolatrous : because, in that case, he testifies ; that this Church adored, conjointly with the Father whom all acknowledge to be the Supreme Deity, either a creature or a non-entity.

(2.) To

touched the apostolic age of St. John, was accustomed, in express opposition to the polytheistic

(2.) To the same purpose, he speaks in another place.

We worship the Creator of this Universe:—and, having learned that Jesus Christ is the Son of him who is truly God, and holding the Son in the second place, we honour also, in the third degree, the prophetic Spirit in conjunction with the Word.

Τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς σεβόμενοι,—Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ μαθόντες, καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, Πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει ὅτι μετὰ Λόγου τιμῶμεν, ἀποδείξομεν. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 46, 47.

According to the plain construction of this passage when viewed connectedly with the other passage, what can we understand by *the second place* and *the third degree*, save that, in the economy of the worshipped Godhead, the Son and the Spirit are *second* and *third* with reference to the Father who is *first*?

For it were palpable idolatrous blasphemy to say: that *any* two creatures are honoured in the *second* and *third* degrees with relation to the Creator, who, specially to *these* two creatures, holds the rank of the *first* degree.

IV. It may be proper to remark: that the clause, which, for the sake of general perspicuity, I have inclosed within a parenthesis, is in itself ambiguous. For it may be translated: either *Who taught to us these things and the army of the other good angels*, or *Who taught these things to us and to the army of the other good angels*.

Sculdet and Bishop Bull adopt the former of these two renderings: Dr. Grabe prefers the latter. After attentively considering the clause, I have been led to take the version suggested by Dr. Grabe.

1. *These things*, ταῦτα, refer, I apprehend, to the attributes of God, his justice and temperance and all other virtues, as mentioned above: and, such attributes of the Divinity, it is the

demonolatriy of the Gentiles, to worship and to adore Christ the Son, in conjunction with the Father and the prophetic Spirit; while yet, though avowedly worshipping these three persons, she ever professed to acknowledge only one God, to whom she could legitimately offer up the sacrifice of prayer and praise and thanksgiving.

Whether she acted right, or whether she acted wrong, in paying, to the Son and to the Spirit conjointly with the Father, that divine worship

special office of the Son, in his character of the Word or Oracle of God, to teach or reveal both to men and to angels.

2. The *other* good angels, to whom as well as to men he is said to reveal the divine attributes, are styled *other*, ἄλλων, in reference to the evil demons noticed above as worshipped by the Pagans under the aspect of gods: for I think it evident, that, by these evil demons, Justin means, whether he be right or whether he be wrong in his opinion, the *fallen* or *wicked* angels. These latter are mythologically characterised by actions, which even a morally virtuous *man* would abominate: but the *other* angels, who are contradistinctively *good* angels, follow or obey Christ the great prince of the heavenly host, and are made like unto him in all holy dispositions.

3. I may observe: that the superior excellence of Dr. Grabe's version is strongly shewn by a parallel passage in Irenæus, which sets forth the same doctrine of the Son being from all eternity the *universal* oracle of the Father.

Revelaverit, enim, non solum in futurum dictum est; quasi *tunc* inciperet Verbum manifestare Patrem, cum de Maria natus: sed, communiter, *per totum tempus* positum est. *Ab initio*, enim, assistens Filius suo plasmati revelat OMNIBUS Patrem. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 14. § 6. p. 242.

which she refused to pay to the demon-gods of the Gentiles, I am not at present concerned to inquire: my business is *exclusively* with FACTS recorded by History.

Now one of these recorded FACTS is: that, *Thirty years after the death of St. John, the Catholic Church, having been catechetically taught by the disciples of the Apostle and his subordinate contemporaries, worshipped Christ the Son in conjunction with the Father and the Holy Spirit.*

XIV. The strict accuracy of Justin's record is fully established, not only by the teaching of Polycarp which has already been noticed, but likewise by the practice of his venerable fellow-disciple Ignatius who suffered martyrdom either in the year 107 or (as some think) in the year 116.

*Immediately before his death, and when he was on the point of being led into the amphitheatre, this faithful servant of the Lord, kneeling down with all the brethren, PRAYED TO THE SON OF GOD, for the prosperity of the Churches, for the cessation of persecution, and for the prevalence of mutual love among all Christians*¹.

¹ Οὕτω, μετὰ γονυκλισίας πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν, παρακαλέσας τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ καταπαύσεως, ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπης, ἀπήχθη μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον. Martyr. Sanct. Ignat. § vi. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. ii. p. 160, 161.

The avowed, and indeed only legitimate, principle of this

XV. With the joint practice of Ignatius and the brethren at Rome, corresponded the practice of the Asiatic Christians before the end of the first and at the beginning of the second century.

What this practice was, we learn from the depositions of the unhappy lapsed Christians, as made with legal formality before Pliny in the year 103.

*They affirmed in my presence, says he, in his official report to Trajan, that the sum total of their fault or their error was this. On a stated day, they were wont to assemble together before sun-rise and ALTERNATELY TO SING AMONG THEMSELVES A HYMN TO CHRIST AS TO GOD*¹.

Such an act as this was clearly an act of divine worship.

Nor was it merely a casual act, or a partial act,

prayer to Christ, was his divinity, here set forth, according to the interpretation of the primitive Church, under the phrase of *The Son of God*.

On the same principle, Ignatius, when he appeared before Trajan, styled himself *Theophorus* or *The Bearer of God*: alleging, as the reason of such peculiar language, that, according to the words of Scripture, he was spiritually *The Bearer of Christ* within him. *Ibid.* § ii. p. 158. According, then, to Ignatius, *Theophorus* and *Christophorus*, *The Bearer of God* and *The Bearer of Christ*, are terms equipollent and mutually convertible. Thus avowedly deeming Christ to be God, this primitive disciple of St. John consistently offered up prayer to Christ.

¹ Plin. Epist. lib. x. epist. 97.

or an unadvised act. The deponents stated : that Christians, *universally* and *collectively*, were *accustomed*, on a *fixed day*, to sing a hymn to Christ as to God. Their evidence makes no exceptions. It distinctly states the universal and liturgical practice of the Catholic Church, in the year 103, or three years after the death of St. John.

Nor is this all. Some of the deponents alleged themselves to have apostatised from Christianity more than twenty years previous to their appearance before Pliny ¹. Such being the case, they attested : that the worship of Christ as God was established in the Church, at least as early as the year 83, or seventeen years *anterior* to the death of St. John.

XVI. With the chaunting of hymns to Christ as to God, the primitive Church, in her regular congregational worship, associated the recitation of prayers to the same believed divine person.

As a specimen of these united acts of adoration, I subjoin, in illustrative confirmation of the preceding mass of evidence, a public prayer to Christ, under the character of *the only-begotten Deity the Son of the great Father*, extracted from the Clementine Liturgy : which Liturgy, though, like the other primeval Liturgies, not committed to writing until the fifth century, must, at the very

¹ Plin. Epist. lib. x. epist. 97.

lowest estimation, be substantially deemed as ancient as the third century ; and which may justly be viewed, as reflecting the devotional exercises of a yet earlier period.

O thou, that didst bind the strong man, and didst spoil all his goods ; thou, that didst give us power to tread upon serpents and scorpions and to prevail over all the strength of the enemy ; thou, who didst deliver to us, a bound captive, as a sparrow to children, the man-slaying serpent, whom all things dread and fear, from the face of thy power ; thou, who didst cast him down broken, from heaven to earth, like lightning, not indeed by a topical breaking, but from honour to dishonour, on account of his voluntary malignity ; thou, whose aspect drieth up the abyss, and whose threat dissolveth the mountains, and whose truth abideth for ever ; thou, whom babes praise, and whom sucklings eulogise ; thou, whom angels hymn and adore ; thou, who lookest upon the earth, and causest it to tremble ; thou, who touchest the mountains, and they do smoke ; thou, who threatenest the sea and driest it up, and who turnest all the rivers into a wilderness ; thou, the dust of whose feet are the clouds ; thou, who walkest upon the sea as upon the solid ground : ONLY-BEGOTTEN GOD, SON OF THE GREAT FATHER ; REBUKE THE EVIL SPIRITS, AND DELIVER THE WORKS OF THINE HANDS FROM THE POWER OF THE ALIEN SPIRIT. For, to thee, are glory and honour and worship ; and,

*through thee, to thy Father, in the Holy Ghost ; for ever and ever. Amen*¹.

XVII. Step by step, in regular succession, we have now, without the slightest variation in our evidence, arrived at the apostolic age itself: and, as I see not why the sacred records should be deemed less capable of bearing testimony to a FACT than any other records, I feel perfectly justified in summoning *them* also to appear as witnesses.

1. The Apocalypse of St. John, we have reason to believe, was written in the reign of Domitian about the year 97: for, though some place its composition earlier, I am willing to take the lowest

¹ Ὁ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δῆσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσας· ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν ἐπάνω ὄψεων καὶ σκορπίων πατεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἔχθρου· ὁ τὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνον ὄφιν δεσμώτην παραδοὺς ἡμῖν, ὡς στρουθίον παιδίῳ, ὃν πάντα φρίττει καὶ τρέμει, ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεως σου· ὁ ῥήξας αὐτὸν ὡς ἄστραπην ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰς γῆν, οὗ τοπικῶς ῥήγματι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τιμῆς εἰς ἀτιμίαν, δι' ἐκούσιον αὐτοῦ κακόνοιον· οὗ τὸ βλέμμα ξηραίνει ἀβύσσους, καὶ ἡ ἀπειλὴ τήκει ὄρη, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ὃν αἰνεῖ τὰ νήπια, καὶ εὐλογεῖ τὰ θηλάζοντα· ὃν ὑμνοῦσι καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι· ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν· ὁ ἀπτόμενος τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ καπνίζονται ὁ ἀπειλῶν θαλάσσης καὶ ξηραίνων αὐτὴν, καὶ πάντα τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐξερημῶν· οὗ νεφέλαι, κονιορτοὶ τῶν ποδῶν· ὁ περιπατῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ὡς ἐπ' ἐδάφους· μονογενὴς Θεὸς, μεγάλου Πατρὸς Υἱός· ἐπιτίμησον τοῖς πονηροῖς πνεύμασι, καὶ ῥῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου πνεύματος ἐνεργείας· ὅτι σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, καὶ διὰ σοῦ τῷ σῶ Πατρὶ, ἐν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. 7.

date. It was written, consequently, about six years anterior to the deposition of the lapsed, made before the tribunal of Pliny : that, *on a stated day, Christians, in their liturgical worship, were accustomed to sing a hymn to Christ as to God.*

(1.) Now this inspired document exhibits to us at least three distinct instances, of prayer or praise or thanksgiving, all of which are indisputable acts of divine adoration, being directly offered up to the Lord Jesus Christ.

The first instance occurs immediately before the opening of the seven seals.

I beheld : and, lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain.—

And, when he had taken the book, the four beasts and the four and twenty elders FELL DOWN BEFORE THE LAMB, having every one of them harps and golden vials full of odours which are the prayers of saints.

And they sang a new song, saying : Thou art worthy to take the book and to open the seals thereof. For thou wast slain : and thou hast redeemed us to God, by thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation.—

And I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne and the beasts and the elders, saying, with a loud voice : WORTHY IS THE LAMB, WHICH WAS SLAIN, TO RECEIVE POWER AND RICHES AND WISDOM AND STRENGTH AND HONOUR AND GLORY AND BLESSING.

*And every creature, which is in heaven and on the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I, saying: BLESSING AND HONOUR AND GLORY AND POWER BE UNTO HIM THAT SITTETH UPON THE THRONE AND UNTO THE LAMB, FOR EVER AND EVER*¹.

The second instance occurs immediately after the mystic sealing of God's elect out of the twelve tribes of the figurative Israel.

*After this, I beheld: and, lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations and kindreds and people and tongues, stood before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed in white robes, and palms in their hands. And they cried with a loud voice, saying: SALVATION TO OUR GOD WHICH SITTETH UPON THE THRONE AND UNTO THE LAMB*².

The third instance occurs at the close of the Apocalypse: and it exhibits to us an act of prayer, addressed by John himself to the Lord Jesus Christ; that, according to his word, he would hasten the time of his second advent, and thus quickly bring deliverance to his afflicted Church.

He, which testifieth these things, saith: Surely, I come quickly.

AMEN. EVEN SO BE IT. COME, LORD JESUS³.

(2.) From such instances of even celestial worship, recorded in a sacred book, familiarly, as we

¹ Rev. v. 6—13.

² Rev. vii. 9, 10.

³ Rev. xxii. 20.

are told by Justin and Irenæus, known to the Christians of the second century : those Christians, I think, could draw only one conclusion¹.

If Christ, by an inspired Apostle, were *blamelessly* described, as receiving, conjointly with the Father, the praise and thanksgiving and adoration of every creature ; and if, by the same inspired Apostle, a prayer could *blamelessly* be offered up to Christ, that he would come quickly according to his word : certainly, the *same* worship *might be*, or rather *ought to be*, rendered to the divine Redeemer by the Catholic Church upon earth.

Now, in point of *fact*, as we have seen from positive and distinct testimony, this worship *was* invariably rendered to Christ, from at least seventeen years before the death of St. John down to the era of the first Nicene Council : and, when, with the circumstance set forth by this testimony, we compare what may be termed *the poetical machinery of the Apocalypse*, there can, I apprehend, be little doubt ; that the imagery, of *the sacred hymns addressed by the whole creation jointly to the Father and to the Son*, was borrowed from those primitive hymns of the Church, which, in like manner, were jointly addressed *to the alone God who is over all and to his only-begotten Son God the Word*².

¹ See Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 240. Iren. adv. hæres. lib. v. c. 25. § 5, 6. p. 355.

² Ὕμνους γὰρ εἰς μόνον τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι λέγομεν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν

Hence, if such adoration were idolatrous ; and idolatrous it *must* have been, unless Christ be very and essential God : I see not, how the inference can be avoided ; that the inspired Apostle himself, by his own writings, encouraged and confirmed the

μονογενῇ αὐτοῦ Θεὸν Λόγον· καὶ ὑμνοῦμέν γε Θεὸν καὶ τὸν μονογενῇ αὐτοῦ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 422. See above, book i. chap. 3. § iv.

Such is the account of the liturgical apocalyptic imagery, rightly given by Sir Isaac Newton.

The beasts and elders represent the primitive Christians of all nations : and the worship of these Christians in their churches is here represented under the form of worshipping God and the Lamb in the temple ; God for his benefaction in creating all things, and the Lamb for his benefaction in redeeming us with his blood ; God as sitting upon the throne and living for ever, and the Lamb as exalted above all by the merits of his death. Rev. v. 11—14. This was the worship of the primitive Christians. Observ. on the Apoc. chap. ii. p. 262, 263.

Dr. Priestley specially recommends to the serious consideration of all Trinitarians the alleged FACT, that the primitive Christians did *not* worship Christ, but that they habitually worshipped the Father *only*.

The accuracy of such an allegation had already, we see, been anticipatively denied by Sir Isaac Newton : for he states, without any apparent dread of contradiction, that *the worship of the primitive Christians was the joint adoration of God and the Lamb*.

Dr. Priestley, however, *has* contradicted him *in terminis* ; little as Sir Isaac Newton seems to have imagined the possibility of such a circumstance.

Whether theasserter or the contradicter be best borne out by history, the prudent inquirer will judge and determine for himself.

aboriginally misled Catholic Church in rank and offensive idolatry.

2. But, in truth, the blame, if blame there *be* in the case, must not be borne *exclusively* by St. John : it must equitably be *shared* with his primeval brethren in the ministry.

(1.) About the year 97, St. John, we see, at the close of the Apocalypse ; addressed a prayer to Christ, that he would hasten his advent : and this the Apostle did, after having previously exhibited the whole congregated universe, as lauding and adoring the Son conjointly with God the Father.

At a yet earlier period, the same practice had been adopted by St. Paul : for thus, respecting it, writes, in the year 58, that great doctor of the Church to his Corinthian Proselytes.

*There was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan, to buffet me : lest I should be exalted above measure. FOR THIS THING I BESOUGHT THE LORD THRICE, THAT IT MIGHT DEPART FROM ME. And he said unto me : My grace is sufficient for thee ; for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly, therefore, will I glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me*¹.

The whole context of this passage imperiously requires us to believe : that Christ is the person, to whom the Apostle addressed his supplication.

For the person invoked declares : that *his*

¹ 2 Corinth. xii. 7—9.

strength is perfected in Paul's weakness. And, in the very next sentence, Paul explains this declaration to mean : that *the power of Christ will rest upon him.*

The person, therefore, whose strength is perfected in Paul's weakness, is indisputably Christ.

Whence, finally, Christ is the person, to whom the Apostle addressed his thrice repeated supplication.

Such being the case, since Paul, without the least scruple, mentions to the Corinthians the FACT of his having thrice prayed to Christ for relief from trouble ; and since, in imperishable writing, he has recorded the same FACT for the instruction of the Church Catholic to the very end of time : we cannot wonder at the yet additional FACT ; that those, who admitted Paul's divine inspiration, should follow Paul's recorded example.

(2.) Another remarkable instance of prayer, addressed, on the part of the same Apostle, to the Son conjointly with the Father, occurs in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, which was written in the yet earlier year 52.

Now our God and Father himself, and OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, DIRECT OUR WAY UNTO YOU : and THE LORD MAKE YOU TO INCREASE AND ABOUND IN LOVE ONE TOWARD ANOTHER ¹.

Here, to the Lord Jesus Christ, prayer is offered

¹ 1 Thessal. iii. 11, 12.

up, conjointly with God the Father : first, that he, the same Lord Jesus Christ, would direct the Apostle's way to the Thessalonians ; and, secondly, that the Lord, evidently the Lord mentioned immediately before or still the same Lord Jesus Christ, would make the Thessalonians to increase and abound in all mutual charity.

3. St. Paul's invocation of Christ, however, had, in the year 33, been anticipated by the proto-martyr Stephen.

They stoned Stephen, INVOCATING AND SAYING : LORD JESUS, RECEIVE MY SPIRIT. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice : LORD, LAY NOT THIS SIN TO THEIR CHARGE ¹.

With respect to the prayer offered up by Stephen, it was plainly no other than a strict and proper act of adoration.

At a time when men are most anxious about the success of their petitions, in the hour of death and on the verge of the grave, the protomartyr is said to have invoked the Lord Jesus : and the sub-

¹ Acts vii. 59, 60. As Stephen besought the Lord Jesus not to lay the sin of his murder to the charge of the Jews who stoned him : so, in the year 136, Justin Martyr attests, that Christians were accustomed to pray on behalf of the Jews, that they might obtain mercy from Christ.

Καὶ, πρὸς τούτοις πᾶσιν, εὐχόμεθα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ἐλεηθῇτε ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 253.

The necessary turn of Justin's language shews, that Christ was the person to whom this liturgical intercessory prayer was addressed.

stance of his prayer was, partly that Christ would receive his spirit, and partly that he would not impute the sin of murder to his executioners.

This prayer and this conduct of the dying Stephen are, by an inspired historian, recorded, for the instruction of the Church in all succeeding ages.

Now, for such a purpose, they might have been recorded in two several ways.

If the act of Stephen, in praying to Christ, had been an act of idolatry : the circumstances, attendant upon his death, might have been *vituperatively* recorded, for the timely warning and admonition of the Church.

Or, on the other hand, if his invocation of Christ were strictly in the line of his duty : the circumstances of his martyrdom might have been delivered down to posterity, *as altogether free from blame*, for the simple purpose of instruction and encouragement.

What, then, is the plan, which we find to have been adopted by the sacred historian ?

All the facts, attendant upon the martyrdom of Stephen, are minutely related. But not a single word of censure drops from the pen of the historian, though he knew that his writings were destined to be imperishable.

The argument, which, from the death of St. John down to the session of the first Nicene Council, the early believers could not but have

built upon such a circumstance, lies within very narrow compass.

Stephen either *was*, or *was not*, guilty of idolatry.

If he *was* guilty : then an inspired writer (a writer, moreover, who is generally supposed to have been under the special direction of the actual eye-witness Paul ¹) has, most lamentably, though most unaccountably, neglected his bounden duty, and sinned grievously against God, in relating the martyrdom of Stephen, *certainly* without the least vituperation, and *apparently* with full and unmixed approbation.

If he *was not* guilty : then the invocation of Christ is our bounden duty ; and, by a necessary consequence, Christ must be very God. For the invocation of a creature cannot but be idolatry : and idolatry cannot but be unlawful ².

¹ See Acts vii. 58. viii. 1. xxii. 20.

² The adoration of the Son had already been even *enjoined* by the express voice of prophetic anticipation.

Serve Jehovah with fear : and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry ; and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they, that put their trust in him. Psalm ii. 11, 12.

The word *KISS*, as is evident, both from the whole context of the clause which contains it, and from the parallel mode in which the same word is elsewhere used by the writers of the Old Testament, is here used in the sense of *divine adoration*. Compare 1 Kings xix. 18. Job xxxi. 26—28. Hos. xiii. 2.

Hence *the divine adoration of the Son* is even expressly *enjoined* by an inspired writer, who flourished long anterior to the days of the Apostles.

4. The naked FACT, that *Stephen and Paul and John all invoked or addressed prayers to Christ*, is indisputable ; and the naked FACT that *John exhibited the whole creation as offering up praise and thanksgiving to the Son conjointly with the Father*, is equally indisputable : because the FACTS themselves, however we may be pleased to understand them, are distinctly and specifically recorded.

Hence, if these *leaders* of the Church both invoked Christ and inculcated the invocation of Christ, we may be morally certain : that their immediate contemporaries, like their successors throughout the second and third centuries, would do the same.

That such, accordingly, *was* the FACT, the writings of the New Testament bear witness most unequivocally.

A general descriptive appellation will never be conferred upon any collective body of men, or at least no collective body of men will freely assume such an appellation, unless real and familiar circumstances shall furnish an abundantly sufficient reason.

Now it can scarcely have escaped the notice even of the most superficial observer, that precisely such an appellation is repeatedly bestowed upon the primitive Christians by the writers of the New Testament.

When, in the year 35, the converted persecutor Saul began zealously to preach Christ : *All that*

heard him, we are told, were amazed, and said ; Is not this he, that destroyed THEM WHICH CALLED ON THIS NAME in Jerusalem ¹.

In a similar manner, when, in the same year 35, Christ commanded Ananias to put his hand on the repentant persecutor that he might receive his sight, the answer was : *Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he hath done to thy saints at Jerusalem ; and here he hath authority, from the chief priests, to bind ALL THAT CALL UPON THY NAME* ².

Accordingly, in the year 57, the ordinary and familiar description of the early believers was couched in terms following : ALL THAT IN EVERY PLACE CALL UPON THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD ³.

(1.) It appears, then : that the general descriptive appellation of the very first Christians, an appellation both assumed by themselves and given to them by others, was ; THOSE WHO CALL UPON THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST, OR THOSE WHO INVOCATE THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST ⁴.

But such an appellation could neither have been bestowed upon them nor assumed by them, unless it had fully corresponded with their confessed and well known universal practice.

¹ Acts ix. 21.

² Acts ix. 13, 14.

³ 1 Corinth. i. 2. written A. D. 57.

⁴ Οἱ ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

We may be sure, therefore : that, from the very apostolic age itself, *all* the primitive believers were, in their ordinary prayers, accustomed to call upon or to invoke the Lord Jesus Christ.

Accordingly, as an exemplification of the practice involved in the appellation, we find Stephen, in the article of death, doing this precise thing. For, in the greek original, the very same word is used ; to describe, both the *invocation* employed by Stephen in particular, and the *invocation* employed by all Christians in general ¹.

(2.) We must observe, however, that the appellation does not *merely* establish A FACT : we must carefully note, that, in truth, it does *much more*.

When the appellation proceeds from the mouth of Paul or of Ananias, and when it occurs in the midst of a speech addressed to Christ himself : it not only establishes A FACT ; but, with those who hold the divine origin of the Gospel, it likewise establishes THE THEOLOGICAL CORRECTNESS OF A PRACTICE.

For, if the invocation of Christ were idolatry, Paul and Ananias could only have employed the

¹ Ἐπικαλούμενον καὶ λέγοντα. Acts vii. 59. Σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 1 Cor. i. 2.

The subject of the divine adoration of Christ, as recorded in the New Testament, is resumed below, book ii. chap. 7, for the purpose of meeting the objections of the modern School of Humanitarianism.

appellation, and Christ himself could only have heard the appellation, to bestow, upon the unholy practice of plain necessity involved in it, a most severe and indignant and well-merited censure. But we find not, that the slightest vituperation escaped the lips either of Christ or of his delegated servants. On the contrary, the mode, in which the appellation is heard by the former and employed by the latter, clearly demonstrates, that, by an authority from which with Christians lies no appeal, the practice was deemed, not only justifiable, but even the bounden duty of every sound believer. Yet the religious invocation of a creature cannot but be idolatry : and idolatry, we know, is reprehended, in the very strongest terms, throughout Holy Scripture. Hence, on the principle so judiciously laid down by Dr. Priestley himself, it will follow : that *The apostolically uncensured practice of the primitive Church involves, of very necessity, the reception of the doctrine of Christ's proper divinity*¹.

¹ See above, book i. chap. 4. in init.

Dr. Priestley, it will be recollected, *not only made* the positive assertion, that *Christians did not at first pray to Christ, but prayed habitually to the Father ONLY* : he also employed this positive assertion of an alleged notorious historical FACT, as the avowed basis of an *argument* against the doctrine of Christ's divinity.

Numerous Antitrinitarians, who implicitly build, not upon their own personal researches, but upon the good faith of their teachers, have, I make no doubt, admitted Dr. Priest-

XVIII. Accordingly, as St. John, the last survivor of the Apostolic College, bequeathed to the Catholic Church, at the commencement of the second century, the practice of worshipping the Son conjointly with the Father and the prophetic Spirit : so, in the last-written of the four Gospels, did he likewise bequeath to the Catholic Church the only sound and intelligible *rationalè*, on which the Son could be at all worshipped and invoked.

Three years after the death of St. John, it was, by the lapsed, deposed before Pliny : that *Christians, in the course of their religious worship, statedly recited hymns to Christ as to God.*

In exact harmony with this deposition, St. John teaches us : that *The Word, who became incarnate in the man Christ Jesus, was himself God with God, through whom the universe was created*¹. Whence it obviously follows : that *Christ, as being God incarnate, was doubtless the proper object of that divine adoration, which the inspired Apostle both recorded and performed.*

With respect to the remarkable exordium of St. John's Gospel, the primitive Church Catholic understood it precisely as it is still understood by the Catholic Church of the present day. As the Church worshipped ; so the Church, receiving her doctrine from the Apostles, interpreted. Her

ley's historical FACT as a matter quite undeniable, and have thence credulously assented to his CONCLUSION from it.

¹ John i. 1—18.

practice and her exposition, originating from the same authority, perfectly corresponded. Justin, Hippolytus, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Novatian, and Dionysius of Alexandria, all understood the passage, not as Mr. Lindsey or Dr. Priestley or Mr. Belsham would variously, each according to his own mere unsupported dogmatism, recommend us to understand it; but as, under the precise aspect of a rule of truth in the Church, it was expounded by the venerable Irenæus: and, through the single intervening link of his master Polycarp, Irenæus received his theology direct from the Apostle John himself¹.

¹ For the above specified authorities in full, see below, Append. i. numb. 1. text 12.

As the jarring interpretations of the exordium of St. John's Gospel, propounded by the mutually irreconcilable doctors of the modern Humanitarian School, rest severally upon a foundation not more solid, than the mere arbitrary dogmatism of their respective propounders: SO NOT ANY ONE of these interpretations, whether proposed by Mr. Lindsey or Dr. Priestley or Mr. Belsham, was, either *known to*, or *received by*, the primitive Church Catholic. In the writings of the early Antenicene Fathers, NOT A VESTIGE of *any one* of these recent unsupported figments can be discovered. See Lindsey's Sequel to Apol. p. 129—141. Priestley's Hist. of Early Opin. Introd. sect. v. Works, vol. vi. p. 42, 43. New Testam. in an Improv. Vers. by Belsham. in loc.

Departing with a high hand from the recorded interpretation of the primitive Church quite up to the times of the Apostles, the doctors of the modern Humanitarian School cannot even

agree among themselves *what* exposition they shall substitute in its place. Dr. Priestley is in one story : Mr. Lindsey, in another : and Mr. Belsham, in a third. Let their respective living admirers produce, if they be able, even a shadow of tangible *evidence*, that *any one* of the mutually discordant glosses, commonly received on the strength of mere dogmatism by our readily acquiescent Antitrinitarians, gives the real sense of the passage. Certainly, I could never yet discover any more cogent reason for adopting the interpretation either of Mr. Lindsey or Dr. Priestley or Mr. Belsham, than that each severally *thinks* his own interpretation to be the true one. Now *this*, so far as I can perceive, is *mere naked unadulterated dogmatism*. Where, that we should receive it, is the convincing force of an interpretation, which rests solely on the unsupported *self-persuasion* of its contriver ?

Under the aspect of collateral evidence, I take this opportunity of stating : that the Platonist Amelius, who flourished in the third century, exhibits himself, as understanding the exordium of St. John's Gospel precisely as it is now understood by all who receive the doctrine of the Trinity.

To such a sense of the passage, this unprejudiced and unbiassed judge was doubtless conducted, partly by the obviousness of its natural import, and partly by finding that it was thus universally expounded by the whole Christian Church.

Καὶ οὗτος ἄρα ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καθ' ὃν αἰεὶ ὄντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐγίνετο, ὥς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἀζιώσειε, καὶ νῆ δι' ὃν ὁ βάρβαρος ἀξιοῖ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τάξει τε καὶ ἀταξίᾳ καθεστηκότα πρὸς Θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι δι' οὗ πάνθ' ἀπλῶς γεγενῆσθαι ἐν ᾧ τὸ γενόμενον ζῶν, καὶ ζῶην, καὶ ὃν πεφυκέναι, καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα πίπτειν, καὶ σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενον, φαντάζεσθαι ἄνθρωπον μετὰ καὶ τοῦ τηνικαῦτα δεικνύειν τῆς φύσεως τὸ μεγαλεῖον, ἀμέλει καὶ ἀναλuthέντα πάλιν ἀποθεοῦσθαι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι, οἷος ἦν πρὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταχθῆναι. Amel. apud Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. xi. c. 17. p. 317, 318. Lutet. Stephan. 1544.

CHAPTER V.

RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY AFFORDED TO THE FACT
OF THE POSITIVE ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF
THE TRINITY AND THE GODHEAD OF CHRIST, BY
ANCIENT APOLOGIES AND OFFICIAL EPISTLES AND
OTHER PUBLIC DOCUMENTS OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

AMONG the primitive Christians, nothing was more common, than to publish what were called *Apolo-
gies* or rather (according to the propriety of our english idiom) *Defences*.

In the composition of these Works, some accredited champion of the common faith stepped forth : and, appearing as the acknowledged representative of his brethren, described and vindicated, in the general name of the Church, those doctrines, which, by common consent, were universally taught and believed.

The evidence, afforded by such Works, seems perfectly unexceptionable.

For, on the one hand, if either the whole Church, or an immense majority of the Church, *differed* radically in sentiment from the Apologist : they, clearly, would never have *acknowledged* the offi-

cious defence so impertinently obtruded upon the world in their behalf.

And, again, on the other hand, no Apologist could well have been hardy enough to introduce into his Apology, under the *professed* aspect of the familiar and universally admitted doctrines of *the Church*, certain notoriously mere novel tenets of *his own devising* : which, he was conscious, were not only *not* the received doctrines of his fellow-believers, but were even strenuously and (with the petty exception of his own little upstart party) unanimously *abhorred* by them.

In the same class with the ancient Apology may be fitly arranged all evidence of a kindred description.

Thus, when, in controversy, an early ecclesiastical writer, speaking in the name of the whole Catholic Church, plurally declares, that *WE now hold and WE have always held this or that tenet* ; I see not how his testimony can be reasonably disallowed : both because he would not have dared to make such an assertion, had it been palpably false ; and because, even if he *had* dared, friends and foes alike would have joined in crying out against his impudence.

Thus also, when a Bishop or a Community or a Public Assembly writes and puts forth an official letter : if such document shall have been admitted and acknowledged by the Church at large, we must obviously view it, not as propounding some

novel and unauthorised *private* speculation, but as declaring, and thence as openly testifying to, a system of doctrine *universally* familiar and *universally* received.

In fact, compositions of this kind speak, as it were, for themselves.

As we all instinctively feel, their very *tone* imports, on the part of the writer, a full conviction : that he is vindicating or declaring opinions, which are and always have been held by *the Catholic Church*. They exhibit nothing of the timidity of the mere *insulated individual* : who is consciously advancing some new fancy, hitherto unknown, and therefore likely to be received with prejudice and distrust and suspicion. On the contrary, they display all that boldness, which a man invariably feels : when he is quite aware, that he speaks the sense of *his brethren*, and that his labours will be rewarded by *their* unequivocal approbation.

In Works of such a description, this *tone* will always be distinctly perceived, even by the most careless reader : for, in truth, it is impossible, that he should *not* perceive it.

The *tone* does not, indeed, demonstrate *The abstract truth of the DOCTRINE propounded* : but it establishes, what at present is my exclusive concern, *The historical FACT that the writer speaks the familiar sentiments of the communion to which he belongs*.

Such a *tone*, for instance, alike pervades the

controversial Works of Horsley and of Priestley. With the abstract truth of *either* of the THEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS which those two authors advocate, it has obviously no sort of connection: yet, to a naked HISTORICAL FACT, it affords that species of internal evidence, which every reader involuntarily feels to be altogether irresistible. In point of DOCTRINE, *this* reader may symbolise with Horsley, and *that* reader may agree with Priestley. But, I suppose, there never yet was a reader, let his doctrinal opinions be what they may, who, from the *very tone* of the compositions in question, was not quite satisfied, in his own mind, as to the bare FACT: that *Horsley spoke the familiar sentiments of the Church which he adorned*, and that *Priestley spoke the familiar sentiments of the School which still venerates his memory*. Each is viewed, not as a solitary theoriser, but as the accredited representative of a community; not as an insulated interpreter, but as the organ and champion of a party. In short, were a person gravely to urge, that these two writers advanced nothing more than their respective *individual* speculations, and that the several doctrinal systems of *the Anglican Church* and of *the Humanitarian School* were by no means exhibited in their opposing controversial productions; were he yet additionally to contend, that the Church of the stout Trinitarian Prelate was decidedly *antitrinitarian*, and that the School of the strenuous Antitrinitarian Divine was vehe-

mently *trinitarian* : we should be apt to pronounce such a whimsical theorist nothing better than a moon-struck vender of hopeless paradoxes.

My present class of witnesses, then, will be taken, from the authors of the ancient Apologies, and from the conducters of the ancient controversies, and from the writers of the official Epistles and other public documents of the early Church : and, in successively adducing them, I shall still continue to observe that retrograde chronological order which I have hitherto judged it most expedient to adopt.

I. According to such an arrangement, let us first hear Arnobius : who flourished about the year 303, and who has left us a controversial Work in defence of Christianity against Paganism.

If Christ were God, they object : why did he appear in a human form ; and why was he put to death after the manner of a man ?

To this I reply: Could that Power, which is invisible and which has no bodily substance, introduce itself into the world and be present at the councils of men, in any other way, than by assuming some integument of more solid matter, which even to the dullest eye-sight might be capable of visibility ?—He assumed, therefore, the form of man, and shut up his power under the similitude of our race : in order that he might be viewed and seen ; in order that he might utter words and teach ; in order that he might execute all those matters, for the sake of perform-

ing which he had come into the world by the command and disposition of the highest Sovereign.—

But they yet further object : that Christ was put to death after the manner of a man.

Not, in absolute strictness of speech, Christ himself ; I reply : for that, which is divine, cannot be liable to death ; nor can that, which possesses the attribute of perfect unity and simplicity, fall asunder by the dissolution of destruction. Who, then, was seen to hang upon the cross ? Who was the person, that died ? Doubtless, the human being, whom he had put on, and whom he himself bore in conjunction with his own proper self¹.

¹ *Sed, si Deus, inquiunt, fuit Christus : cur forma est in hominis visus ; et cur more est interemptus humano ?*

An aliter potuit invisibilis illa vis, et habens nullam substantiam corporalem, inferre et commodare se mundo, conciliis interesse mortalium, quam ut aliquod tegmen materiæ solidioris assumeret, quod oculorum susciperet injectum, et ubi se figere inertissimæ posset contemplationis obtutus ?—Assumpsit, igitur, hominis formam, et sub nostri generis similitudine potentiam suam clausit, ut et videri posset et conspici, verba faceret et doceret, atque omnes exequeretur res eas, propter quas in mundum venerat faciendas, Summi Regis imperio et dispositione servatis.—

Sed more est hominis interemptus.

Non ipse : neque enim cadere divinas in res potest mortis occasus : nec, interitionis dissolutione, dilabi id, quod est unum et simplex nec ullarum partium congregatione compactum. Quis est, ergo, visus in patibulo pendere : quis mortuus est ? Homo, quem induerat, et secum ipse portabat. Arnob. adv. gent. lib. i. p. 37, 38. See also lib. i. p. 41.

II. We may next hear the official letter, addressed to Paul of Samosata, by the Fathers of the Council of Antioch which sat in the year 269.

This the begotten Son, the only-begotten Son, who is the image of the invisible God; begotten before the whole creation; the Wisdom and the Word and the Power of God; who existed before the worlds; not by mere foreknowledge, but in substance and in person, God, the Son of God: him having known both in the Old and in the New Covenant, we confess and we preach.

*But, whosoever shall contend against us, that we ought to believe and to confess that the Son of God was not God before the foundation of the world; alleging, that, if the Son of God be preached as God, two Gods are preached: this person we deem an alien from the ecclesiastical canon. And, with us, all the Catholic Churches agree*¹.

¹ Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Υἱὸν γεννητὸν, μονογενῆ Υἱὸν, εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ τυγχάνοντα, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, Σοφίαν καὶ Λόγον καὶ Δύναμιν Θεοῦ, πρὸ αἰώνων ὄντα, οὐ προγνώσει, ἀλλ' οὐσίᾳ καὶ ὑποστάσει Θεὸν, Θεοῦ Υἱὸν, ἔν τε παλαιᾷ καὶ νέᾳ διαθήκῃ ἐγνωκότες, ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ κηρύσσομεν. "Ὅς δ' ἂν ἀντιμάχεται τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸν μὴ εἶναι πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου πιστεύειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν, φάσκων δύο Θεοὺς καταγγέλλεσθαι ἂν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸς κηρύσσεται, τοῦτον ἀλλότριον τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος ἡγούμεθα· καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ καθολικαὶ ἐκκλησίαι συμφωνοῦσιν ἡμῖν. Epist. Concil. Antioch. apud Routh. Rel. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 466. The writers of this letter assert, that their doctrine had been preserved in the Catholic Church from the very days of the Apostles themselves, down even to their own time.

III. From the public letter of the Antiochian Fathers, let us pass to the *Elenchus and Apology* of Dionysius of Alexandria, as we find some fragments of that Work preserved by Athanasius.

Dionysius presided in the Church of Alexandria about the year 260.

This Prelate had written against the speculation of Sabellius : who maintained, that there was only one person in the Godhead, and that *Father* and *Son* and *Spirit* were merely varied appellations. Eager to confute an opinion which confounded the three persons of the Trinity, Dionysius appears to have used language, which might import that he divided the substance of the three persons. This circumstance led to a charge against him : and, in consequence of it, he was requested, by the Bishop of Rome and by others of his episcopal brethren, distinctly to explain his sentiments. With their just request Dionysius readily complied : and, since his *Elenchus and Apology* gave full satisfaction, we thence sufficiently learn, what was the standard doctrine of the Catholic Church about the middle of the third century.

Omitting, says Athanasius, on account of the length of the discourse, the greater part of what Dionysius says, either in the way of examination, or in the way of argument, or in the way of confutation, I shall adduce only those things which are necessary in regard to the accusation preferred against him.

Making, then, his defence, he writes, as follows, in the first book of his Elenchus and Apology.

There never was a time, when God was not a Father.

In what remains, also, he acknowledges the truth of this position.

Christ, inasmuch as he is the Word and the Wisdom and the Power, always existed. For God did not at length beget a Son, as being originally ungenerative of these : but only the Son was not of himself ; for he derives his being from out of the Father.

And, after a short interval, he again speaks concerning the same person.

Inasmuch as he is the effulgence from eternal light, he himself likewise is altogether eternal. For, since the light always exists, it is manifest, that the effulgence likewise must always exist : because the existence of light is perceived from the circumstance of its emitting an effulgence ; and light cannot exist without giving light. But let us again have recourse to illustrative examples. If there be a sun : there is splendour, there is day. But, if there be no such thing : then neither can the sun be present. Hence, if the sun were eternal : there would be day without cessation. But now this is not the case. Therefore, when the sun begins to shine, day begins : and, when the sun ceases to shine, day ceases. God, however, is light eternal, neither beginning, nor ending.

Consequently, his effulgence, being without commencement and being eternally generated, is itself eternal, and cœexists with him eternally.—

And, yet again, after another short interval, he speaks still concerning the same person.

He, then, is the eternal Son of the eternal Father : inasmuch as he is light from light. For, since there is a Father : there is also a Son. But, if there were no Son : how, and of whom, could the Father be a Father ? Both, however, exist : and both exist eternally.

Again, he adds these following observations.

Wherefore, since God is light, Christ is the effulgence from him : and, since God is a spirit (for *God*, says the sacred writer, *is a spirit*), the Son analogically may be called *breath* ; for, saith he, he is the breath of the Power of God.

And, in his second book, he yet again remarks.

The Son alone always cœexists with the Father : and he is full of the self-existent : and he himself exists, inasmuch as he is from the Father¹.

¹ Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλείστα τῶν αὐτοῦ ῥημάτων, ἅπερ ἡ ζητῶν ἐξετάζει, ἢ συλλογισζόμενος συνάγει, ἢ ἐρωτῶν ἐλέγχει, ἢ τοὺς κατειρηκότας αἰτιᾶται, ταῦτα παρεῖς διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῶν λόγων, μόνα τὰ πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀναγκαῖα τίθημι. Ἀπολογούμενος τοίνυν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα, γράφει, ταῖς λέξεσι ταύταις ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἐλέγχῳ καὶ Ἀπολογίᾳς, μεθ' ἕτερα, οὕτως.

Οὐ γὰρ ἦν, ὅτε Θεὸς οὐκ ἦν Πατήρ.

Καὶ τοῦτο οἶδεν ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς.

Ἀεὶ τὸν Χριστὸν Λόγον ὄντα καὶ Σοφίαν καὶ Δυνάμιν· οὐ γὰρ

IV. Contemporary with Dionysius of Alexandria was Dionysius of Rome : the Prelate, to whom the *Elenchus and Apology* of his Alexandrian namesake was specially addressed, and to whom with his colleagues (as we have seen) it gave entire satisfac-

δὴ τούτων ἄγονος ὢν, ὁ Θεὸς εἶτα ἐπαιδοποιήσατο· ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Υἱὸς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔχει τὸ εἶναι.

Καὶ, μετ' ὀλίγα, πάλιν περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φησίν.

Ἀπαύγασμα δὲ ὢν φωτὸς αἰδίου, πάντως καὶ αὐτὸς αἰδίδιος ἐστίν· ὄντος γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῦ φωτὸς, δῆλον ὡς ἔστιν αἰεὶ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα· τούτῳ γὰρ, ὅτι φῶς ἐστι, τῷ καταυγάζειν νοεῖται· καὶ φῶς οὐ δύναται μὴ φωτίζον εἶναι. Πάλιν γὰρ ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ παραδείγματα. Εἰ ἔστιν ὁ ἥλιος, ἔστιν αὐγή, ἔστιν ἡμέρα· εἰ τοιοῦτον μηδὲν ἐστι, πολὺ γε δεῖ καὶ παρεῖναι ἥλιον. Εἰ μὲν οὖν αἰδίδιος ὁ ἥλιος, ἀπαυστος ἂν ἦν καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα. Νῦν δὲ οὐ γάρ ἐστιν· ἀρξαμένου τε, ἥρξατο· καὶ, παυομένου, παύεται. Ὁ δέ γε Θεὸς αἰώνιον ἐστὶ φῶς, οὔτε ἀρξάμενον, οὔτε λήξόν ποτε. Οὐκοῦν αἰώνιον πρόκειται καὶ σύνεστιν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα ἀναρχον καὶ αἰιγενές.—

Καὶ αὖθις ἐπάγει, μετ' ὀλίγα, περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λέγων.

Οὗτος οὖν αἰωνίου τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ αἰώνιος ὁ Υἱὸς ἐστι, φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς ὢν. Ὅντος γὰρ γονέως, ἐστὶ καὶ τέκνον· εἰ δὲ μὴ τέκνον εἶη, πῶς καὶ τίνος εἶναι δύναται γονεύς; Ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἄμφω· καὶ εἰσὶν αἰεὶ.

Εἶτα πάλιν προστίθησι ταῦτα.

Φωτὸς μὲν οὖν ὄντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἀπαύγασμα· πνεύματος δὲ ὄντος (πνεῦμα γάρ, φησιν, ὁ Θεός), ἀνάλογος πάλιν ὁ Χριστὸς ἀτμὶς λέγεται· ἀτμὶς γάρ, φησιν, ἐστὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως.

Καὶ, ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου, πάλιν φησί.

Μόνος δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς αἰεὶ συνὼν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τοῦ ὄντος πληρούμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὢν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς. Athan. de sent. Dionys. cont. Arian. Oper. vol. i. p. 436, 437. Commel. 1600.

tion. Part of a controversial Work, written by this author against the patripassianising Sabellians, has been also preserved by Athanasius.

I hear, that there are among you some teachers of the divine word, who run into an error diametrically opposite to that of Sabellius. For he blasphemously asserts the Son to be identical with the Father: but they, in a manner, set forth three Gods in three alien essences altogether separate from each other, thus dividing the sacred Unity. Now the divine Word must inevitably be united with the God of all things: and the Holy Ghost must inevitably cohere and dwell in the Deity. Thus is it altogether necessary: that the divine Trinity should unite and coalesce in one, as it were in a certain head, namely the Almighty God of the universe.—Wherefore, it is no ordinary blasphemy, but the very greatest, to say: that the Lord was, in any wise, created. For, if the Son were made: there would be a time, when he existed not. Whereas, he hath existed from all eternity¹.

¹ Πέπυσμαι γὰρ εἶναί τινας τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν κατηχούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὸν θεῖον λόγον, ταύτης ὑφηγητὰς τῆς φρονήσεως· οἱ κατὰ διάμετρον, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀντίκεινται τῇ Σαβελλίου γνώμῃ. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ βλασφημεῖ, αὐτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν εἶναι λέγων τὸν Πατέρα· οἱ δὲ τρεῖς Θεοὺς τρόπον τινὰ κηρύττουσιν εἰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ξένας, ἀλλήλων παντάπασι κεχωρισμένας, διαιροῦντες τὴν Ἀγίαν Μονάδα. Ἡνῶσθαι γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὅλων τὸν θεῖον Λόγον· ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν δὲ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἐνδiciaτᾶσθαι δεῖ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· ἥδη καὶ τὴν θεῖαν Τριάδα εἰς ἓνα, ὥσπερ εἰς κορυφὴν τινα, τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων τὸν παντοκράτορα, λέγω, συγκεφαλαιοῦσθαι τε καὶ συνάγεσθαι, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη.—Βλάσφημον

V. Cyprian was elected Bishop of Carthage in the year 248 : and he suffered martyrdom in the year 258. During the period which elapsed between these two years, he had occasion to send forth many writings of a public or official nature. From them, therefore, we may gain some insight into the doctrines respecting the Godhead, at that time received by the Church as indisputable christian verities.

*He, who breaks the peace and concord of Christ, acts against Christ. He, who gathers beside the Church, scatters Christ's Church. The Lord says : I and the Father are one thing. And again, concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, it is written : And these three are one thing*¹.

The Lord, after his resurrection, sending forth his disciples, instructed and taught them, how they ought to baptise ; saying : Go therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. He insinuates the Trinity, in whose sacrament the nations

οὗν οὐ τὸ τυχόν, μέγιστον μὲν οὗν, χειροποίητον τρόπον τινὰ λέγειν τὸν Κύριον. Εἰ γὰρ γέγονεν Υἱὸς, ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν· ἀεὶ δὲ ἦν. Dion. Rom. cont. Sabell. apud Athan. Synod. Nicen. cont. hæc. Arian. Decret. Oper. vol. i. p. 421, 422.

¹ Qui pacem Christi et concordiam rumpit, adversus Christum facit. Qui alibi præter Ecclesiam colligit, Christi Ecclesiam spargit. Dicit Dominus : *Ego et Pater unum sumus*. Et iterum, de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto, scriptum est : *Et hi tres unum sunt*. Cyprian. de Unit. Eccles. Oper. vol. i. p. 109. Oxon. 1682.

should be baptised.—Now, if any one could be baptised with heretics, he might also obtain remission of sins. But, if he obtained remission of sins, and was sanctified, and was made the temple of God : I ask, Of what God ? If of the Creator ; he, who believed not in him, could not be his temple : if of Christ ; neither could he, who denies Christ to be God, become the temple of Christ : if of the Holy Ghost ; since the three are one thing, how could the Holy Ghost be placable to him, who is an enemy either of the Father or of the Son ?—In fine, when after the resurrection the Apostles are sent by the Lord to the nations, they are commanded to baptise the gentiles, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. How then do some assert, both without the Church and against the Church, that a gentile, provided only he be baptised any where and any how in the name of Christ, can obtain remission of sins : when Christ himself commanded, that the nations should be baptised in the full and united Trinity¹ ?

¹ Dominus enim, post resurrectionem discipulos suos mittens, quemadmodum baptizare deberent, instituit et docuit, dicens : *Data est mihi omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra : Ite ergo, et docete gentes omnes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.* Insinuat Trinitatem, cujus sacramento gentes baptizarentur.—Nam, si baptizari quis apud hæreticos potuit ; utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit. Si peccatorum remissam consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est : quæro, Cujus Dei ? Si Creatoris ; non potuit, qui in eum non credidit : si Christi ; nec hujus fieri potest templum,

VI. Hippolytus, the pupil of Irenæus, who received his theology from St. John through the medium of Polycarp, flourished about the year 220. The statements, contained in his controversial Works, may justly be referred to the present class of testimonies.

*Why was the temple desolated?—Because the Jews put to death the Son of the Benefactor: for he is cœternal with the Father*¹.

*This, then, is the Word, who was openly shewn to us. Wherefore we behold the incarnate Word: we apprehend the Father through him: we believe in the Son: we adore the Holy Ghost*².

qui negat Deum Christum: si Spiritus Sancti; cum *tres unum sunt*, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est?—Denique, ubi post resurrectionem a Domino Apostoli ad gentes mittuntur; *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti* baptizare gentiles jubentur. Quomodo ergo quidam dicunt foris extra Ecclesiam imo et contra Ecclesiam, modo in nomine Jesu Christi ubicunque et quomodocunque gentilem baptizatum, remissionem peccatorum consequi posse: quando ipse Christus gentes baptizari jubeat in plena et adunata Trinitate? Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 200, 203, 206.

¹ Τίνος χάριν ὁ ναὸς ἡρημώθη;—“Οτι τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Εὐεργέτου ἐθανάτωσαν· αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῷ Πατρὶ συναΐδιος. Hippol. Demons. adv. Jud. § vii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 4. Hamburg. 1716. In another part of the same Work, he styles Christ *the true God*: Θεὸς ὢν ἀληθινός. Ibid. § iv. p. 3.

² Ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Λόγος ὁ καὶ ἐμφανὴς δεικνύμενος. Οὐκοῦν ἔνσαρκον Λόγον θεωροῦμεν· Πατέρα δι’ αὐτοῦ νοοῦμεν· Υἱὼ δὲ

The Father, indeed, is one: but there are two persons, because there is also the Son; and the third person is the Holy Spirit.—For the Father commands: the Son obeys: the Holy Spirit teaches. The Father is over all: the Son is through all: the Holy Spirit is in all. We cannot understand the one God, otherwise than as we truly believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.—Go, said Christ, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Thus did he shew us, that, whosoever shall omit any one of these, he hath not perfectly glorified God: for, through this Trinity, the Father is glorified. The Father willed: the Son performed: the Spirit manifested¹.

VII. Tertullian flourished about the year 200. Among his various controversial Works from which

πιστεύομεν· Πνεύματι Ἀγίῳ προσκυνοῦμεν. Hippol. cont. Noet. § xii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 14, 15.

¹ Πατήρ μὲν γὰρ εἷς· πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Υἱός· τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὸ Ἀγιον Πνεῦμα.—Ὁ γὰρ κελεύων, Πατήρ· ὁ δὲ ὑπακούων, Υἱός· τὸ δὲ συνετίζον, Ἀγιον Πνεῦμα. Ὁ ὢν Πατήρ, ἐπὶ πάντων· ὁ δὲ Υἱός, διὰ πάντων· τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα Ἀγιον, ἐν πᾶσιν. Ἀλλως τε ἓνα Θεὸν νομίσαι μὴ δυνάμεθα, ἐὰν μὴ ὥντως Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι πιστεύσωμεν.—Πορευθέντες μαθητευσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος· δεικνύων, ὅτι πᾶς, ὃς ἂν ἕν τι τούτων ἐκλίπη, τελείως Θεὸν οὐκ ἐδόξασεν· διὰ γὰρ τῆς Τριάδος ταύτης Πατήρ δοξάζεται. Πατήρ γὰρ ἠθέλησεν· Υἱὸς ἐποίησεν· Πνεῦμα ἐφάνέρωσεν. Πᾶσαι τοίνυν αἱ γραφαὶ περὶ τούτου κηρύσσουσι. Hippol. cont. Noet. § xiv. Oper. vol. ii. p. 15, 16.

it were easy to produce testimonies sufficient to fill a volume, he composed, in the name of the suffering Church at large, a public Apology, addressed to the reigning Emperors in their character of *Pontifices Maximi* : and to this I shall at present confine myself.

*The Word, WE SAY, was produced out of God : and, in his prolation, was generated. From the unity of substance, therefore, he is called both God and The Son : for God is a spirit. Moreover, as, when a ray is projected from the solar orb, it is a portion from the whole ; though the sun will be in the ray because it is a ray of the sun, nor is the substance separated but extended : so is the Word, Spirit from Spirit, and God from God.—What hath proceeded from God, is both God and the Son of God : and they two are one God*¹.

VIII. My next testimonies shall be extracted from the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, written by Clement of Alexandria who lived about the year 194.

This ancient Father professed to be a scholar of Pantenus : who, by some of the early theolo-

¹ Hunc ex Deo prolatum DICIMUS, et prolatione generatum, et idcirco *Filium* et *Deum* dictum ex unitate substantiæ : nam et Deus spiritus. Etiam, cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa ; sed sol erit in radio quia solis est radius, nec separatur substantia sed extenditur : ita de spiritu spiritus, et de Deo Deus.—Quod de Deo profectum est Deus est et Dei Filius : et unus ambo. Tertull. Apol. adv. gent. Oper. p. 850.

gians, is said to have been a disciple of the Apostles ; and who, doubtless, conversed with the Fathers denominated *apostolical*. He himself declares : that those, who had received their doctrinal instruction from the Apostles Peter and James and John and Paul, had survived, through God's blessing, down even to his own time ¹. And this matter is quite possible in chronology : for Clement is thought to have died about the year 220 ; and those, who had been taught by the Apostles might have been alive in the year 150.

Because the Word was from above, he both was and is the divine principle of all things.—This Word, the Christ, was both the cause of our original existence, for he was in God ; and also the cause of our well-existence, for this very Word hath now appeared unto men, he alone being both God and man : from whom having learned to live virtuously, we are sent forward on our road toward eternal life. For, according to that divinely inspired Apostle of our Lord, The grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men ; teaching us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly righteously and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ. This is the new song, the manifestation of the Word who was in the beginning and who præexisted : which mani-

¹ See Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. Oper. p. 274, 275.

festion hath now shone out in us. For the præexistent Saviour hath appeared close at hand. He hath appeared, who is in him that is : because the Word, who was with God, hath appeared as our teacher ; for whom all things have been created. The Word, who as our Creator gave us, with the act of fashioning us, life in the beginning, hath taught us also to live well : appearing as our instructor, in order that hereafter as God he might conduct us to eternal life ¹.

Believe, then, O man, in him who is both man and God : believe, O man, in the living God, who suffered and who is adored ².

¹ Ἄλλ', ὅτι μὲν ἦν ὁ Λόγος ἄνωθεν, ἀρχὴ θεία τῶν πάντων ἦν τε καὶ ἔστιν.—Οὗτος γοῦν ὁ Λόγος ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ τοῦ εἶναι πάλαι ἡμᾶς (ἦν γὰρ ἐν Θεῷ), καὶ τοῦ εἶναι. Νῦν δὲ ἐπεφάνη ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Λόγος, ὁ μόνος ἄμφω, Θεός τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀπάντων ἡμῖν αἷτιος ἀγαθῶν· παρ' οὗ τὸ εἶ ζῆν ἐκδιδασκόμενοι, εἰς αἰῶδιον ζωὴν παραπεμπόμεθα. Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν θεσπέσιον ἐκείνον τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόστολον, Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπεφάνη, παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς, ἵνα, ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας, σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι· προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἄσμα τὸ καινόν, ἡ ἐπιφάνεια, ἡ νῦν ἐκλάμψασα ἐν ἡμῖν, τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντος καὶ προόντος Λόγου. Ἐπεφάνη δὲ ἑναγχος ὁ προὖν σωτήρ· ἐπεφάνη ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄντι ὢν, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος, ὃς ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, διδάσκαλος ἐπεφάνη, ᾧ τὰ πάντα δεδημιούργηται. Λόγος ὁ καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐν ἀρχῇ μετὰ τοῦ πλάσαι παρασχών, ὡς δημιουργὸς, τὸ εἶ ζῆν ἐδίδαξεν, ἐπιφανείς ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἵνα τὸ αἰεὶ ζῆν ὑστέρον ὡς Θεὸς χορηγήσῃ. Clem. Alex. Protreps. Oper. p. 5, 6.

² Πίστευσον, ἄνθρωπε, ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ Θεῷ· πίστευσον, ἄνθρωπε,

*The Lord—is the divine Word, the most evidently true God, who is equalled to the Lord of all things : because he was his Son, and the Word was in God*¹.

IX. From the attestation of Clement of Alexandria, we may proceed to that of Irenæus of Lyons, the scholar of Polycarp the disciple of St. John.

This we shall find, still to the same effect, in the controversial Work, which, with the approbation of the Catholic Church, that eminent Prelate, about the year 175, published against the existing heresies.

*Man is a temperament of soul and body. He was formed according to the likeness of God : and he was fashioned by his hands. That is to say : he was fashioned through his Son and through his Spirit ; to whom also he said, Let us make man*².

τῷ παθόντι καὶ προσκυνουμένῳ Θεῷ ζῶντι. Clem. Alex. Protreps. Oper. p. 66.

¹ Ὁ Κύριος, — ὁ θεῖος Λόγος, ὁ φανερώτατος ὄντως Θεός, ὁ τῷ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων ἐξισωθείς* ὅτι ἦν Υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ. Clem. Alex. Protreps. Oper. p. 68.

² Homo est autem temperatio animæ et carnis, qui secundum similitudinem Dei formatus est, et per manus ejus plasmatus est ; hoc est per Filium et Spiritum, quibus et dixit, *Faciamus hominem*. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. præf. p. 232.

In another place, Irenæus states it to be sound doctrine, that *the Son is the measure of the Father's immensity* : a tenet, plainly incompatible with any scheme which denies to the Son complete and essential divinity.

Et bene, qui dixit ipsum immensum Patrem in Filio mensu-

The Son, ministering in all things to the Father, operates from the beginning even to the end : and, without him, no one can know God. For the Son is the knowledge of the Father : but the knowledge of the Son in the Father is revealed through the Son. On account of this, the Lord said : No one knoweth the Son, but the Father ; nor the Father, but the Son and he to whom the Son shall have revealed him. The expression, Shall have revealed, is employed, not only with reference to futurity ; as if the Word did but begin then to manifest the Father when he was born from Mary : but it regards, in common, an extension through all time. For the Son, from the beginning, standing near to his own handy-work, reveals the Father unto all, to whom the Father willeth, and when he willeth, and as he willeth. Therefore, in all and through all, there is one God the Father, and one Word, and one Son, and one Spirit, and one faith and salvation to all who believe in him ¹.

ratum. Mensura enim Patris Filius, quoniam et capit eum. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 8. p. 237.

¹ Omnia autem Filius administrans Patri perficit ab initio usque ad finem : et, sine illo, nemo potest cognoscere Deum. Agnitio, enim, Patris Filius : agnitio autem Filii in Patre, et per Filium revelata. Et, propter hoc, Dominus dicebat : *Nemo cognoscit Filium, nisi Pater ; neque Patrem, nisi Filius, et quibuscunque Filius revelaverit.* Revelaverit, enim, non solum in futurum dictum est, quasi tunc inciperet Verbum manifestare Patrem cum de Maria natus : sed communiter, per totum tempus, positum est. Ab initio, enim, assistens Filius suo plasmati

The angels neither made us nor fashioned us : nor could the angels make the image of God : nor could any virtue, far remote from the Father of the universe, make it : nor could any other, save only the Word of God. For God wanted none of these to make, what he himself within himself had predetermined should be made ; as if he had not his own proper hands. Because with him are ever present, his Word and his Wisdom, his Son and his Spirit, through whom and in whom he freely and spontaneously made all things : to whom likewise he spake, when he said ; Let us make man after our image and likeness ¹.

Man was made and fashioned after the image and likeness of God who is uncreated: the Father approving ; the Son ministering and forming ; the Spirit nourishing and augmenting ².

revelat omnibus Patrem, quibus vult, et quando vult, et quemadmodum vult, Pater : et, propter hoc, in omnibus et per omnia, unus Deus Pater, et unum Verbum, et unus Filius, et unus Spiritus, et una fides et salus omnibus credentibus in eum. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 14. § 6. p. 242.

¹ Non angeli fecerunt nos, nec nos plasmaverunt ; nec angeli potuerunt imaginem facere Dei ; nec alius quis, præter Verbum Domini ; nec virtus longè absistens a Patre universorum. Nec enim indigebat horum Deus ad faciendum, quæ ipse apud se præfinierat fieri ; quasi ipse suas non haberet manus. Adest enim ei semper, Verbum et Sapientia, Filius et Spiritus ; per quos et in quibus omnia liberè et spontè fecit : ad quos et loquitur, dicens ; *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.* Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 37. § 2. p. 266.

² Talis factus et plasmatus homo secundum imaginem et

*Through the hands of the Father, that is, through the Son and the Spirit, man was made according to the likeness of God*¹.

X. Contemporaneously with Irenèus, or about the year 174, flourished the attic Athenagoras.

This learned individual is said to have been converted to Christianity by the mere perusal of the Scriptures. His *Apology* or *Legation*, on behalf of his brethren in the faith, is, by some critics, thought to have been addressed to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus : but, by others, it is supposed to have been presented to the Emperors Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Verus.

The testimony, which it bears to the doctrine of the Church at that period, is eminently valuable, both on account of its remarkable precision, and likewise on account of its containing a distinct assertion even in so many words that the author *accurately* propounded the doctrine which then was *universally* received among Christians.

That WE are not atheists, has sufficiently been demonstrated by me : inasmuch as WE worship one un-

similitudinem constituitur infecti Dei : Patre quidem bene sentiente ; Filio verò ministrante et formante ; Spiritu verò nutriende et augente. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 75. § 3. p. 310.

¹ Per manus enim Patris, id est, per Filium et Spiritum, fit homo secundum similitudinem Dei. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. v. c. 8. § 1. p. 322. See also lib. v. c. 23. § 5. p. 353. lib. ii. c. 55. § 4. p. 157.

produced and eternal and invisible and impassible Being, who by the mind and reason alone can be comprehended, and who through the agency of his own Word created and arranged and compacted the universe ; for WE receive also the Son of God. Nor let any person think it strange and ridiculous, that God should have a Son. For WE deem not, either concerning God the Father, or concerning the Son as, the poets mythologise, setting forth gods who are no better than men. But the Son of God is the Word of the Father in idea and in energy. For by him and through him were all things made, the Father and the Son being one : since the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son, through the unity and power of the Spirit. The Son of God is the Mind and Word of the Father¹.

Who, then, would not wonder, that WE should hear

¹ Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄθεοι μὴ εἶναι, ἓνα τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ αἰδίδιον καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ ἀχώρητον, νῦν μόνῳ καὶ λόγῳ καταλαμβανόμενον,—ὅφ' οὗ γεγέννηται τὸ πᾶν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λόγου καὶ διακεκόσμηται καὶ συγκρατεῖται, Θεὸν ἄγοντες, ἱκανῶς μοι δέδεικται· νοοῦμεν γὰρ καὶ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ μὴ μοι γελοῖόν τις νομίζει τὸ Υἱὸν εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ· οὐ γὰρ, ὥς ποιηταὶ μυθοποιοῦσιν οὐδὲν βελτίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεικνύντες τοὺς θεοὺς, ἢ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ἢ περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πεφρονήκαμεν· ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐν ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ· πρὸς αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· ὄντος δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν Πατρὶ, καὶ Πατρὸς ἐν Υἱῷ, ἐνότητι καὶ δυνάμει Πνεύματος. Νοῦς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Athenag. Legat. pro Christian. c. ix. p. 37, 38. Oxon. 1706.

*ourselves called Atheists, when we profess our belief in God the Father and in God the Son and in the Holy Ghost, shewing both their power in unity and their distinction in order*¹?

*To this only do we strenuously apply ourselves, that we may know God and the Word who is from him: what is the unity of the Son with the Father; what is the communion of the Father with the Son; what is the Spirit; what is the unity and the distinction of these who are such; inasmuch as the Spirit and the Son and the Father are united*².

*We say, that there is God, and the Son his Word, and the Holy Ghost, united in power; namely, the Father, the Son, the Spirit. For the Son is the Mind, the Word, the Wisdom, of the Father: and the Spirit is an emanation from him, as light flows from fire*³.

But, if I thus accurately set forth THE DOCTRINE

¹ Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσαι, λέγοντας Θεὸν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, δεικνύντας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν, ἀκούσας ἀθέους καλουμένους. Athen. Legat. c. x. p. 40.

² Ὑπὸ μόνου δὲ παραπεμπόμενοι τούτου, ὃν ἴσως Θεὸν καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Λόγον εἶδέναι, τίς ἢ τοῦ Παιδὸς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἐνότης, τίς ἢ τοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν κοινωνία, τί τὸ Πνεῦμα, τίς ἢ τῶν τοσούτων ἔνωσις καὶ διαίρεσις· ἐνουμένων, τοῦ Πνεύματος, τοῦ Παιδὸς, τοῦ Πατρὸς. Athen. Legat. c. xi. p. 46.

³ Ὡς γὰρ Θεὸν φαμεν, καὶ Υἱὸν τὸν Λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, ἐνούμενα μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν· τὸν Πατέρα, τὸν Υἱὸν, τὸ Πνεῦμα· ὅτι Νοῦς, Λόγος, Σοφία, Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ ἀπόρροια, ὡς φῶς ἀπὸ πυρὸς, τὸ Πνεῦμα. Athen. Legat. c. xxii. p. 96.

WHICH IS RECEIVED AMONG US, *do not wonder. For, lest ye should be carried away by the silly vulgar opinion which is entertained of US, and in order that you may be able to know THE REAL TRUTH, I thus carefully STUDY ACCURACY*¹.

XI. Melito of Sardis lived about the year 170. Of his *Apology*, nothing remains save a fragment : but that fragment abundantly indicates the doctrine and practice of the Christians his contemporaries.

WE are worshippers, *not of insensible stones, but of the only God who is before all things and above all things : and WE are worshippers likewise of his Christ, truly God the Word before the worlds*².

XII. In the year 168, lived Theophilus of Antioch. He wrote a *Defence of Christianity* in three books addressed to Autolycus : and, from this Work, we learn, that the Catholic Church of that age maintained the doctrine of a Trinity of persons in the Deity ; teaching also, that the Son was the Jehovah who conversed with Adam in Paradise.

*The three days, before the creation of the sun and moon, are types of the Trinity, God and his Word and his Wisdom*³.

¹ Εἰ δὲ ἀκριβῶς διέξειμι τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγον, μὴ θαυμάσητε· ἵνα γὰρ μὴ τῇ κοινῇ καὶ ἀλόγῳ συναποφέρησθε γνώμῃ, ἔχητε δὲ τὰληθὲς εἰδέναι, ἀκριβολογοῦμαι. Athen. Legat. c. xi. p. 41.

² Melit. Apol. See above, book i. chap. 4. § x.

³ Αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι—τύποι εἰσὶ τῆς Τριάδος, τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Σοφίας αὐτοῦ. Theoph. ad Autol. lib. ii. c. 15.

In the person of God, the Son came into the garden, and conversed with Adam ¹.

XIII. About the year 165, flourished Tatian. This individual was a disciple of Justin : and, *after* the death of his master, he fell into the errors of the Encratites. But that circumstance does not invalidate his testimony to a *fact* : for, even independently of the very reason of the thing, his *Oration against the Greeks* was written *before* the death of Justin.

WE do not speak foolishly, nor do WE relate mere idle tales, when WE affirm that God was born in the form of man ².

XIV. The conversion of Justin Martyr occurred prior to the year 136. Hence, though both his two *Apologies* were written subsequent to that year, they will exhibit the received doctrine of the Church Catholic during the very earliest part of the second century.

Him the Father ; and his Son, who came forth from him ;—and the prophetic Spirit : these WE worship and WE adore, honouring them in word and in truth, and, to every person who wishes to learn, ungrudgingly delivering them as WE OURSELVES have been taught ³.

¹ Παρεγίνετο (ὁ Υἱὸς) εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἐν προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὠμίλει τῷ Ἀδάμ. Theoph. ad Autol. lib. ii. c. 22.

² Οὐ γὰρ μωραίνομεν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ λήρους ἀπαγγέλλομεν, Θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ γεγονέναι καταγγέλλοντες. Tatian. Orat. cont. Græc. § xxxv. p. 77. Worth.

³ Ἀλλ' Ἐκεῖνόν τε (scil. τὸν Πατέρα), καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ

*Atheists, then, we are not, inasmuch as we worship the Creator of this universe :—and, having learned that Jesus Christ is the Son of him who is truly God, and holding him in the second place, we will shew, that, in the third degree, we honour also the prophetic Spirit in conjunction with the Word*¹.

*For the Word, who is born from the unborn and ineffable God, we worship and we love next in order after God the Father : since also, on our account, he became man, in order that, being a joint partaker of our sufferings, he might also effect our healing*².

XV. There were two Apologists, Quadratus and Aristides, of a yet earlier date than Justin : but their vindications of Christianity, which were addressed to the Emperor Adrian when in the year 125 he visited Athens for the purpose of being initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries, are unfortunately lost. These productions were, however,

Υἱὸν ἐλθόντα,—Πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικόν, σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες, καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀφθόνως παραδιδόντες. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 43.

¹ Ἄθεοι μὲν οὖν ὥς οὐκ ἔσμεν, τὸν Δημιουργὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς σεβόμενοι.—καὶ—Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν—υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ μαθόντες καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, Πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει ὅτι μετὰ Λόγον τιμῶμεν, ἀποδείξομεν. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 46, 47.

² Τὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἀγεννήτου καὶ ἀρρήτου Θεοῦ Λόγον, μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν, προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν· ἐπεὶ καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, ὅπως, καὶ τῶν παθῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων συμμέτοχος γενόμενος, καὶ ἱασιν ποιήσῃται. Justin. Apol. ii. Oper. p. 40.

extant, both in the time of Eusebius, and in the yet later time of Jerome. Hence, from the account which those two writers give of them, we may form a very clear idea of the nature of the doctrines which they propounded as the universally received doctrines of the then existing Church Catholic.

Eusebius styles the Work of Quadratus *an Apology on behalf of the worship of God which prevails among us*¹: and he praises it as a production, *from which we might discern clear indications, both of its author's intelligence, and of his apostolically right division of doctrine*². With Quadratus he joins his contemporary Aristides: calling him *a faithful man*; and stating, that his Apology, like that of Quadratus, was *a defence of the worship of God as conducted by Christians*³.

¹ Ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείας. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 3.

² Ἐξ οὗ κατιδεῖν ἐστὶ λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια τῆς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίας καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοτομίας. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 3. The expression, ὀρθοτομίας, plainly alludes to St. Paul's ὀρθοτομοῦντα τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας. 2 Tim. ii. 15. Hence, in the judgment of one who had subscribed the Nicene Creed, and who has given us the yet older Creed into the profession of which he was baptised, Quadratus was a divine, who rightly divided the word of truth. See above, book i. chap. 2. § II. 1.

³ Καὶ Ἀριστείδης δὲ πιστὸς ἀνὴρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ὀρμώμενος εὐσεβείας, τῷ Κοδράτῳ παραπλησίως ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογία ἐπιφωνήσας Ἀδριανῷ, καταλέλοιπε. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 3.

The same measure of commendation is bestowed upon the apostolic orthodoxy of Quadratus by the strenuous Jerome : who, we may be well assured, would have dealt out no praise to a writer that he deemed heterodox. From the testimony of Quadratus himself, who declares that he had seen and conversed with many of the miraculously healed by Christ, he pronounces him to have been *a disciple of the Apostles* : and he states, that the *Apology*, which he presented to Adrian, was *a very useful production, strictly accordant with the Christian Faith, and worthy of its author's apostolical institution*¹. He subjoins a similar account of the

¹ Quadratus, apostolorum discipulus, Publio Athenarum episcopo, ob Christi fidem martyrio coronato, in locum ejus substituitur, et ecclesiam, grandi terrore dispersam, fide et industria sua congregat. Cumque Adrianus Athenis exegisset hyemem, invisens Eleusinam, et omnibus pene Græciæ sacris initiatus, dedisset occasionem iis, qui Christianos oderant, absque præcepto imperatoris vexare credentes : porrexit ei librum, pro religione nostra compositum, valde utilem, plenumque rationis et fidei, et apostolica doctrina dignum : in quo et antiquitatem suæ ætatis ostendens, ait ; plurimos a se visos, qui sub Domino variis in Judæa oppressi calamitatibus sanati fuerant, et qui a mortuis resurrexerant. Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. Eccles. Oper. vol. i. p. 104. Colon. Agrip. 1616.

Since Quadratus was Bishop of Athens in the year 125 when Adrian was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries, and since our Lord was crucified in the year 33 : Quadratus, in his youth, might easily have conversed with those, whom Christ had miraculously healed. Eusebius, like Jerome, mentions this very interesting assertion as occurring in the *Apology of Quadratus*. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 3.

Apology of Aristides ; which he notes as *setting forth the right principles of our dogmatic theology* ¹ : and, in another place, he distinctly tells us, that *the Apologies of Justin were imitations of the Apology of Aristides* ².

From such descriptions of their writings, it is evident, that the system of doctrine, defended by Quadratus and Aristides, was the very same as that defended by Justin and Melito and Athenagoras. It was a system, therefore, which propounded the godhead of Christ and a triad of persons in the essence of the Deity : and, this system, Quadratus, the *disciple* of the Apostles, professed to have received *from* the Apostles.

XVI. With Quadratus and Aristides, Ignatius, during a part of their lives, was contemporary : for, like Polycarp, he was a disciple of St. John who died in the year 100 ; and he suffered martyrdom at Rome, either in the year 107, or (as some think) in the year 116. The genuineness of his seven Epistles, in their shorter form, has been

¹ Aristides Atheniensis, philosophus eloquentissimus, et sub pristino habitu discipulus Christi, volumen, nostri dogmatis rationem continens, eodem tempore quo et Quadratus, Adriano principi dedit, id est, Apologeticum pro Christianis : quod, usque hodie perseverans, apud philologos ingenii ejus judicium est. Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. Eccles. Oper. vol. i. p. 104.

² Aristides philosophus, vir eloquentissimus, eidem principi (Adriano) Apologeticum pro Christianis obtulit, contextum philosophorum sententiis : quem imitatus postea Justinus, et ipse philosophus. Hieron. Epist. lxxxiv. Oper. vol. i. p. 259.

unanswerably established by Bishop Pearson : and, in this judgment, symbolise the deservedly great names of Vossius, Grotius, Petavius, Cotelerius, Grabe, Tillemont, Le Clerc, Du Pin, Usher, Hammond, Cave, Bull, Lardner, and Horsley. I shall, therefore, without hesitation, adduce Ignatius, as a competent and unexceptionable witness. Six out of his seven Epistles are addressed to Churches. Hence they partake of the public character of the Apology : and hence the doctrinal system, which they propound evidently as common alike to the writer and to the several Churches addressed, must be viewed, not as the mere insulated speculation of an individual, but as the familiar Creed of the entire Christian Community.

*There is one physician, fleshly and spiritual, made and not made, God become incarnate, true Life in death, both from Mary and from God, first passible and then impassible*¹.

*Our God Jesus Christ was conceived by Mary according to the economy of God, from the seed indeed of David, but from the Holy Ghost*².

¹ Εἷς ἰατρός ἐστιν, σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος (sive, juxta Athanasium et Gelasium, γενητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος), ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεὸς, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινὴ, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. § vii. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. ii. p. 13.

² Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ, ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαβίδ, Πνεύματος δὲ Ἁγίου. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. § xviii. p. 15.

*Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God*¹.

*I glorify Jesus Christ, the God who has thus endured you with wisdom*².

*Expect him who is beyond all time, the eternal, the invisible ; even him, who on our account became visible : him, who is intangible and impassible ; who yet, on our account, suffered ; who yet, on our account, endured after every manner*³.

XVII. The very short Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, which alone has survived him, is chiefly *practical*. Hence, we cannot expect there to find any very precise *doctrinal* statement. Yet, even in *this* document which appears to have been written almost immediately after the martyrdom of his friend and fellow-disciple Ignatius about the year 107, we may observe an incidental recognition of the divine nature of our Saviour.

May the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and may he himself, the eternal high-priest, the Son of God, Jesus Christ ; build you up in faith and truth ;—and grant unto you a lot and portion

¹ Ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου. Ignat. Epist. ad Rom. § vi. p. 29.

² Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν οὕτως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαντα. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn. § i. p. 33.

³ Τὸν ὑπερκαίρῳ προσδόκα, τὸν ἄχρονον, τὸν ἀόρατον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ὁρατὸν, τὸν ἀψηλάφητον, τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητὸν, τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα. Ignat. Epist. ad Polyc. § iii. p. 40.

*among his saints, and to us also along with you, and to all who are under heaven and who hereafter shall believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and in his Father who raised him up from the dead*¹.

This passage is indisputably a prayer, for edification in faith and truth, and for eternal felicity in heaven, addressed jointly to God the Father and to his Son Jesus Christ: for the Father and the Son are supplicated, that they would jointly confer these blessings, upon the Philippians, upon Polycarp himself, and upon all the faithful throughout all ages. Hence I see not how we can avoid the conclusion, that Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, must either have held the proper divinity of the Son, or have been apostatically guilty of gross and most indecent idolatry. How he taught his flock at Smyrna, over which he had been placed by the Apostles themselves about the year 83, we have already seen. In evident consequence of their primitive instructor's authoritative lessons, they habitually offered to Christ that divine adora-

¹ Deus autem et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi; et ipse sempiternus pontifex, Dei Filius, Jesus Christus; ædificet vos in fide et veritate;—et det vobis sortem et partem inter sanctos suos, et nobis vobiscum, et omnibus qui sunt sub cœlo qui credituri sunt in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum et in ipsius Patrem qui resuscitavit eum a mortuis. Polycarp. Epist. ad Philipp. § xii. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. ii. p. 191. This part of the Epistle exists only in the ancient Latin Version.

tion, which they shrank with horror from paying to their martyred Bishop ¹.

XVIII. We can as little expect, from the plan of their composition, any very copious and precise statement of doctrine in either of the two Epistles to the Corinthians written by the venerable Clement of Rome. Yet, though the first is altogether a *practical* dissuasive from schism and division, and though the second is professedly of a *didactic* and *hortatory* character : yet, in both of them, do the recognised opinions of the early Church shew themselves with abundantly sufficient distinctness.

1. The first Epistle is thought, by some, to have been written about the year 67 : by others, about the year 96. To my present purpose, its *date* is no way material : for I am concerned only with the authority of its *writer*. Now, on this point, St. Paul himself bears testimony to Clement, as being one of his fellow-labourers whose names are in the book of life ².

Ye were all humble-minded, in no wise boastful, subject rather than subjecting, giving rather than receiving. Being satisfied with the supplies which God has furnished for your journey, and diligently attending to his words, you received them into your very breasts and bowels : and before your eyes were his sufferings. Thus was there given unto all, a deep

¹ See above, book i. chap. 4. § XII. 2.

² Philip. iv. 3.

*and glorious peace, and an insatiable desire of doing good : and, over all, there was a full effusion of the Holy Ghost*¹.

*For Christ is of the number of the humble-minded, not of those who exalt themselves above his flock. The sceptre of the majesty of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the pride of pomp and circumstance, though he was able to have done so ; but with humbleness of mind, as the Holy Ghost spake concerning him.—Ye see, beloved, what an example has been given unto us. For, if the Lord bore himself thus humbly : what ought we to do, who have come under the yoke of his grace*² ?

¹ Πάντες τε ἐταπεινοφρονεῖτε, μηδὲν ἀλαζονερόμενοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποτάσσοντες, μᾶλλον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες· τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀρκούμενοι, καὶ προσέχοντες τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελῶς, ἐστερνισμένοι ἢ τε τοῖς σπλάγχνοις· καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν. Οὕτως εἰρήνη βαθεῖα καὶ λιπαρὰ ἐδέδοτο πᾶσι, καὶ ἀκόρεστος πόθος εἰς ἀγαθοποιίαν· καὶ πλήρης Πνεύματος Ἀγίου ἔκχυσις ἐπὶ πάντας ἐγένετο. Clem. Rom. Epist. i. ad Corinth. § ii. Patr. Apost. Cotel. vol. i. p. 147, 148.

For παθήματα, Junius would read μαθήματα, totally remodeling according to his humour the entire passage. The whole alteration is merely conjectural, and rests upon no authority. Junius, indeed, himself confesses it, when he says : *Totus hic locus corruptus, et sic FORTE restituendus*. The bold assertion and the projected correction are alike altogether arbitrary. They are supported by no evidence.

² Ταπεινοφρονούντων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐκ ἐπαιρομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ. Τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας

The construction of the first of these two passages, in which *his words* and *his sufferings* can only be referred to the antecedent *God*, exhibits Clement, as applying the title of *God* to him who suffered upon the cross: and, in exact correspondence with it, the second of the two passages declares his glorious existence, as the sceptre of God's majesty, anterior to his stooping with great humility to assume our nature; intimating, at the same time, that he might, had it so pleased him, have come into this our nether world under a very different appearance.

In the last-cited passage, Clement obviously refers to the well known text in his fellow-labourer's Epistle to the Philippians¹: and his language perfectly agrees with that of Irenæus, who, through the medium of Polycarp, derived his theology from St. John.

On this account, our Lord, in the last times, recapitulating all things in himself, came to us, not as he might have done, but as we were able to behold him. For he might have come to us in his own proper ineffable glory: but, of his own

οὐδὲ ὑπερηφανίας, καίπερ δυνάμενος· ἀλλὰ ταπεινοφρονῶν, καθὼς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλάλησεν.—Ὅρατε, ἄνδρες ἀγαπητοί, τίς ὁ ὑπογραμμὸς ὁ δεδόμενος ἡμῖν· εἰ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος οὕτως ἐταπεινοφρόνησε, τί ποιήσομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντες; Clem. Rom. Epist. i. ad Corinth. § xvi. Patr. Apost. Cotel. vol. i. p. 156, 157.

¹ Philip. ii. 5—11.

*proper glory, we were not able to endure the magnitude*¹.

Similar phraseology occurs in the very ancient Epistle, which is ascribed to the Apostle Barnabas, but which really seems to have been written by a Hebrew Christian of that name about the year 137.

*When he chose his Apostles who were about to preach his Gospel,—then he manifested himself to be the Son of God. For, unless he had come in the flesh, how could we men, when looking upon him, have been saved? For they, who look even upon the perishable sun, which is the work of his hands, are unable to gaze upon its beams. Wherefore, the Son of God came in the flesh, that he might sum up the full measure of iniquity to those who have persecuted his prophets to death*².

¹ Propter hoc, Dominus noster, in novissimis temporibus recapitulans in seipso omnia, venit ad nos, non quomodo ipse poterat, sed quomodo illum nos videre poteramus. Ipse enim, in sua enarrabili gloria, ad nos venire poterat: sed nos magnitudinem gloriæ suæ portare non poteramus. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iv. c. 74. p. 309.

² "Ὅτε δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους, τοὺς μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ, ἐξελέξατο, —τότε ἐφάνέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν Υἱὸν Θεοῦ εἶναι. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί, πῶς ἂν ἐσώθημεν ἄνθρωποι, βλέποντες αὐτόν; "Ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ εἶναι ἥλιον, ἔργον χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα, βλέποντες, οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν εἰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι. Οὐκοῦν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐς τοῦτο ἦλθε ἐν σαρκί, ἵνα τὸ τέλειον τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν κεφαλαιώσῃ τοῖς διώξασιν ἐν θανάτῳ τοὺς προφῆτας αὐτοῦ. Barnab. Epist. Cathol. § v. Patr. Apost. Cotel. vol. i. p. 15, 16.

For the ascription of this Epistle to a Hebrew Christian of

2. The second Epistle of Clement opens with what is equivalent to a direct assertion of Christ's godhead.

*Brethren, we ought thus to think concerning Jesus Christ, as concerning God, as concerning the judge of both the quick and the dead. And we ought not to think small things concerning our salvation: for, in thinking small things concerning him, we are hoping to receive only small things*¹.

the Church of Jerusalem about the year 137, see below, append. i. numb. 2. sect. 2. § v. It is cited or referred to by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian and Origen and Eusebius. See Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. ii. v. Oper. p. 373, 375, 389, 396, 410, 571, 572, 577. Colon. 1688. Tertull. de Pudic. Oper. p. 766. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 49. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 25. Hence, whether my particular ascription be right or wrong, it at least exhibits the doctrine of the Church anterior to the time of Clement of Alexandria.

¹ Ἀδελφοί, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ, ὡς περὶ κριτοῦ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. Καὶ οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς μικρὰ φρονεῖν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν· ἐν τῷ γὰρ φρονεῖν ἡμᾶς μικρὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, μικρὰ καὶ ἐλπίζομεν λαβεῖν. Clem. Rom. Epist. ii. ad Corinth. § i. p. 185.

On the alleged authority of Eusebius, some have pronounced this second Epistle to be spurious. Eusebius *himself*, however, does not say so: he merely intimates, that it was not so well known as the first Epistle, and that (so far as he was acquainted) the ancients did not use it.

Ἰστέον δ' ὡς καὶ δευτέρα τις εἶναι λέγεται τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολή· οὐ μὲν ἔθ' ὁμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ καὶ ταύτην γνώριμον ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι μὴδὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους αὐτῇ κεχρημένους ἴσμεν. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 38.

The

Clement is evidently censuring those early judaising heretics of the Ebionitic School, whose object, in defiance of the apostolic doctrine of the entire Church Catholic, was to degrade the Saviour to the rank of a mere creature.

The reason why the second Epistle was not so well known as the first, and the import of his saying that *the ancients did not use it so far as he was acquainted*, seem to be explained in the subsequent statement of Eusebius : that, *according to old custom, the first Epistle was publicly read in the churches on the Lord's day*. For the antiquity of this practice, he cites Dionysius of Corinth. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 23. Now the second Epistle was *not* thus used by the ancients. Hence, of course, it was not so well known as the first. But I see not, how this circumstance establishes its spuriousness : and, therefore, I have not scrupled to cite it. At all events, whether it be the production of Clement or not, it is considerably older than the time of the first Nicene Council. Under this aspect, even taken at the lowest, it must certainly be reckoned among antenicene testimonies to the divinity of Christ.

CHAPTER VI.

RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY AFFORDED TO THE FACT
OF THE POSITIVE ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF
THE TRINITY AND THE GODHEAD OF CHRIST, BY THE
ANCIENT CREEDS OR SYMBOLS OF THE EARLY
CHURCH.

IF the received doctrine of the first Christians may be historically ascertained from accredited Apologies and Epistles, even still more positively may it be gathered from certain public instruments of yet another description.

From the very beginning, the Catholic Church has found it convenient to arrange, in the form of Creeds or Symbols, those doctrines, which were taught to the Catechumens, and which were believed by the whole body of the faithful in communion with her. These Creeds or Symbols, though not originally recited in the ordinary ecclesiastical service, but only at the two great baptismal seasons of Easter and Whitsuntide, were yet most familiarly known and received, as indeed their very name imports, by the whole assembly

of the baptised whether Clergy or Laity ¹. They formed the basis of the consummating lectures, which were delivered by the Catechists to the more advanced class of the Catechumens during the forty days which immediately preceded their baptism: and the same Creed, which had thus been employed as a text-book, was recited by the candidate at the font ere he was solemnly washed in the laver of regeneration ². Such being the case, as the Creed of each Church was communicated to *every* Catechumen, and was received by *every* Catechumen, and at the font in answer to the interrogation of the Bishop or Presbyter was recited by *every* Catechumen: it, of course and by absolute necessity, expressed the faith of *every* baptised member of the Catholic Church.

If, at a subsequent period, any one became dissatisfied with the Symbol which he had approbatively recited at his baptism, and if he thence adopted a different system of belief; he quitted the Catholic Church, and joined himself to the party

¹ About the year 500, the custom of *publicly* reciting the Creed, whenever divine service was performed, was introduced by Peter Gnapheus Bishop of Antioch. Καὶ ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει τὸ σύμβολον λέγεσθαι. Theodor. Lector. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. p. 566. Paris. 1673. The benefit of such a plan was soon perceived: and thence the plan itself was soon universally adopted.

² Cyril. Hieros. Catech. iv. p. 24—30. Lutet. 1631. Hieron. ad Pammach. epist. lxi. c. 4. Oper. vol. i. p. 180. Colon. Agripp. 1616.

of the leader whose principles he had preferred : or, if he attempted to remain within the pale of the Church, as soon as his departure from the common faith was known or suspected, he was called to account ; and, if he refused to abandon the speculations which he had embraced, he was solemnly excommunicated, and by this marked separation from the body of the faithful was prevented as much as possible from doing further mischief.

Thus, when Dionysius of Alexandria, about the middle of the third century, was accused of having taken up some unscriptural notions respecting the doctrine of the Trinity ; he was forthwith called to account by a synod of his brethren, in order that he might have an opportunity of vindicating himself in the face of the whole Church. This he did to their perfect satisfaction : for, the synod being convened at Rome, he wrote to the Bishop of that See ; and, in his letter, he so effectually defended himself against the charge of heterodoxy, that he was fully acquitted of the accusation which had been preferred against him ¹.

Thus also, when Theodotus, at the close of the second century, attempted to propagate at Rome the doctrine, that *Christ was a mere man* and that *There is no distinction of persons in the Unity of the Godhead* ; he was similarly called to account by

¹ See above, book i. chap. 5. § III.

Victor the Bishop of that city, in order that he might similarly have an opportunity of vindicating or explaining his conduct. This, however, he could not do; for he persisted in maintaining the scheme of doctrine which he had taken up: and the consequence was; that, having avowedly departed from the well-known common faith of the Catholic Church, he was by excommunication visibly separated from the society of the faithful¹.

Such instances of the jealous care, with which the early Christians guarded their doctrinal system, prove most abundantly: that, in the Creeds or Symbols universally expounded to Catechumens shortly before their baptism, we have the undoubted faith, not merely of a few speculative and fantastical individuals, but of the whole collective body of the primitive Catholic Church. Those, who departed from these Symbols, like soldiers who deserted their standards, were counted heretics and false brethren: and, that they might be accurately distinguished from sound members of Christ's body mystical in whatever mode they had swerved from what was deemed theological verity, Irenæus the second from St. John, and others of the early Fathers, wrote express treatises against them².

¹ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 28.

² Dr. Priestley labours to make out a case for the supposition: that the early Antitrinitarians were on such excellent

These facts are often alluded to by the ancient ecclesiastical authors.

We must flee, says Irenèus, from the doctrines of heretics : and we must take refuge from them in the bosom of the Church ¹.

There both are and have been, says Justin Martyr, many persons ; who have taught, coming in the name of Jesus, both to say and to do things atheis-

terms with the early Trinitarians, that they were admitted into the most full and the most harmonious communion.

I have read his statement : but, as I have also read sundry of the ancient ecclesiastical writers, I have read it without conviction.

For anathemas, with which we frail mortals have but small concern, I entertain no great affection : yet, simply as *a matter of fact*, when we find Irenèus pronouncing that the humanitarian Ebionites are deprived of eternal life, it is difficult to comprehend the existence of the amiable confraternity celebrated by Dr. Priestley.

Qui nudè tantum hominem eum dicunt ex Joseph generatum, perseverantes in servitute pristinæ inobedientiæ, moriuntur.— Ignorantes eum qui ex Virgine est Emanuel, privantur munere ejus, quod est vita æterna. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 21. § 1. p. 212.

Even independently of all anathemas, the discrepancy, between those who adore Christ as very God, and those who deem him a mere peccable man, is plainly, in the nature of things, too immeasurably great to admit of any communion of social religious worship. But, when to this irreconcilable difference a plain curse is superadded, the matter becomes quite hopeless. Irenèus and Dr. Priestley would have been sorry company, I should think, in the primitive cathedral church of Lyons.

¹ Iren. adv. hæ. lib. v. c. 17. § 2. p. 342.

*tical and blasphemous: and they are severally entitled from the names of the persons, who first introduced each particular doctrine and opinion.—With no one of these do we hold communion: inasmuch as we know them to be atheistical and impious*¹.

*We are prophetically commanded, says Clement of Alexandria, to separate ourselves from the above-named heresies, since they are impure and atheistical*².

*The Lord, says Tertullian, knoweth those who are his: and the plant, which his Father hath not planted, he eradicates. Hence the first he sheweth to be last: and his fan he beareth in his hand to purge his floor. Let, then, the mere light chaff fly away. By its departure, the mass of corn will only be laid up the more pure in the Lord's granary. Did not some even of his own disciples, being offended, turn away from the Lord himself?—Shall we, then, indignantly wonder, if some persons desert our Churches?—Being heretics, these individuals cannot be Christians*³.

*With those who have been in the Church from the very beginning, says Basil, it has ever been an invariably standing rule, to reject altogether the entire collective body of heretics*⁴.

¹ Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 196.

² Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iii. Oper. p. 456.

³ Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæc. Oper. p. 96, 109.

⁴ Basil. Epist. ad Amphil. Oper. vol. ii. p. 758. Paris.

No sooner did each heresy start into existence, says Augustine, than it forthwith went out from the congregation of the catholic communion ¹.

The very circumstance, indeed, of this departure, is a proof: that, on the sound principles of historical testimony, we must, in those early times, seek the doctrine of the Apostles, whatever such doctrine might be, within the pale of the Catholic Church. For, in revealed religion, WHATEVER IS FIRST, IS TRUE: and the primitive Church Catholic was a congeries of numerous harmonising provincial Churches; which, as Chrysostom speaks, *received its name from the Faith itself*, and not from the name of some mere innovating individual, who undertook to become an heresiarch ².

I. The Symbol, which ascriptively bears the name of the Apostles, is, in truth, the ancient symbol of the great western patriarchal Church of Rome.

In its somewhat enlarged form, we are all familiar with it. I shall, therefore, give it in its shorter primitive form, as we read it in the Exposition of Ruffinus of Aquileia, who flourished during the lapse of the fourth century.

I believe in God the Father Almighty.

And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord: who

¹ August. de Baptism. cont. Donat. lib. v. c. 19. Oper. vol. vii. p. 57. Colon.

² Chrysost. Homil. xxxiii. in Act. Apost. c. xv. Oper. vol. viii. p. 680.

from the Holy Ghost was born of the Virgin Mary, was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried; he descended into hell; on the third day, he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven; he sitteth at the right hand of the Father; from thence he will come to judge the quick and the dead.

*And in the Holy Ghost; in the holy Catholic Church; in the forgiveness of sins; and in the resurrection of this flesh*¹.

For the primitive simplicity of this Symbol, Ruffinus well accounts, by a remark singularly honourable to the early Church of Rome.

In that Church no heresy ever originated. Hence, those minute and precise definitions, which from the first the subtle genius of oriental aberration made necessary, were not found requisite to secure the faith of the more simple-minded Latins².

¹ Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem: et in Jesum Christum unicum Filium ejus Dominum nostrum; qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, crucifixus est sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus; descendit in inferna: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis; ascendit in cœlos; sedet ad dexteram Patris; inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos: et in Spiritum Sanctum; Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam; remissionem peccatorum; hujus carnis resurrectionem. Ruffin. Expos. Symbol. Apost. ad calc. Cyprian. Oper. p. 17—26.

This Creed, in its general use, was finally brought into its present somewhat enlarged familiar form subsequent to the year 400.

The Church of Aquileia added *invisibilem et impassibilem* after *Patrem Omnipotentem*. Ibid. art. i. p. 19.

² Ruffin. Expos. Symbol. Apost. art. i. p. 17.

II. In the year 350, Cyril was consecrated Bishop of Jerusalem. Prior to his elevation, he had been the Catechist of the same Church : and, as his Catechetical Lectures have come down to us, it is easy to abstract from them the Creed, which had been used in that Society long before the commencement of his own episcopate.

The following Symbol is collected, article by article, from Cyril's fourth Catechetical Lecture : a Lecture, addressed to those more advanced Catechumens, who were preparing themselves for Baptism or (as the rite was then technically styled) Illumination.

I believe in one God the Father Almighty, alone unbegotten, without beginning, without turning, without change, not begotten from any other ; the Father, before all worlds, of his one only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom he made all things visible and invisible.

And in the Son of God, one and alone, our Lord Jesus Christ ; God begotten from God, Light from Light, like in all things to him that begat him ; who received not his existence in time, but who before all worlds eternally and unceasingly was begotten from the Father, before all worlds God the Word ; who was born from the holy virgin and the Holy Ghost, truly man and truly God ; who was truly crucified for our sins ; who was buried, and rose again on the third day from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father ; who

will thence come in glory to judge both the quick and the dead; of whose kingdom there shall be no end.

*And in one Holy Ghost: who, with the Father and the Son, is honoured in the glory of the Godhead; who operated in the Law and in the Prophets, operating indeed variously, but being himself undivided*¹.

Cyril styles this Creed *The Holy Apostolical Faith delivered to us for our profession*²: and, as while yet a Catechist he expounded it to the candi-

¹ Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, μόνον ἀγέννητον, ἀναρχον, ἄτρεπτον, ἀναλλοίωτον, οὐχ ὑφ' ἑτέρου γεγεννημένον, Πατέρα πρὸ αἰώνων ἑνὸς μόνου τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἐποίησε πάντα τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα· καὶ εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν ἓνα καὶ μόνον, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸν γεννηθέντα, τὸν ἐκ φωτὸς φῶς γεννηθέντα, τὸν ὁμοιον κατὰ πάντα τῷ γεννήσαντι, τὸν οὐκ ἐν χρόνοις τὸ εἶναι κτησάμενον, ἀλλὰ πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων αἰδίως καὶ ἀκαταλήπτως ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένον, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων Θεὸν Λόγον, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐξ ἀγίας παρθένου καὶ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος, ἄνθρωπον μὲν ἀληθῶς Θεὸν δὲ ἀληθῶς, τὸν σταυρωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος· καὶ εἰς ἓν Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ὅπερ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ τῇ τῆς Θεότητος δόξῃ τετίμηται, τὸ ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφῆταις ἐνεργῆσαν, πολλὰ μὲν ἐνεργοῦν, αὐτὸ δὲ μὴ μεριζόμενον. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. iv. p. 24—30.

² Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς παραδοθείσης ὑμῖν εἰς ἐπαγγελίαν ἀγίας καὶ ἀποστολικῆς πίστεως, ὅσας ἐγχωρεῖ κατηχήσεις, διὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου χάριν εἰρήκαμεν ἐν ταῖς διελθούσαις ταύταις τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἡμέραις. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. xviii. p. 224.

dates for baptism, and as in the administration of baptism it is well known that both the Eastern and the Western Churches retained their own several ancient Creeds even after the time of the great Nicene Council; it can only be the old Creed of the Church of Jerusalem. Its high antiquity is marked, indeed, by its frequent allusions to the peculiarities of Gnosticism, which troubled chiefly the Church of the first and second centuries.

III. Another ancient Creed, apparently of the Alexandrian Church, has been preserved by Athanasius in his Epistle to the Africans: and to their own knowledge of *mere facts* he appeals, whether it does not set forth doctrines, which had always been universally received, and respecting which no Christian ever doubted.

I believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of all things both visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son.

And in one Holy Ghost.

I believe in one God, who is known as the holy and perfect Trinity.

Into which Trinity being baptised, and in this Godhead assenting, I believe, that I shall inherit the kingdom of heaven in our Lord Jesus Christ¹.

¹ Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ μονογενῆ· καὶ εἰς ἓν Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον· ἕνα Θεὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ τελείᾳ Τριάδι γνωσκόμενον· εἰς ἣν καὶ βαπτιζόμενος

IV. The same system of doctrine, though at greater length, is inculcated in the Confession of the Church of Neocesareà.

This document was drawn up, doubtless not as a novelty but from Symbols already existing, by its Bishop Gregory Thaumaturgus, who flourished about the year 254 : and we are told by Gregory of Nyssa, who lived a century later, that the original autograph was then still preserved by the Christians of that Church with religious veneration.

There is one God, the Father of the living Word, the subsisting Wisdom and Power and eternal Impress : he is the perfect begetter of the perfect one, even the Father of the only-begotten Son.

There is one Lord, the alone from the alone, God from God ; the express Impress and Image of the Godhead, the energetic Word, the Wisdom comprehending the constitution of all things, and the plastic Power of the whole creation ; the true Son of the true Father, the invisible of the invisible, the incorruptible of the incorruptible, the immortal of the immortal, the eternal of the eternal.

And there is one Holy Ghost, having his subsistence from God, who appeared unto men through the Son, the Image of the Son, perfect of perfect ; life, the cause of the living ; the holy fountain, holiness, the bestower of sanctification ; in whom God

καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ συναπτόμενος τῇ Θεότητι, πιστεύω καὶ κληρονομῆσαι βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. Athan. Epist. ad African. Oper. vol. i. p. 725.

the Father is manifested who is over all and in all, and God the Son who is through all.

*There is a perfect Trinity, in glory and eternity and sovereignty neither divided nor separated*¹.

Here ends the Confession of Gregory Thaumaturgus himself: its conclusion was subsequently added by Gregory of Nyssa.

*Wherefore, in this Trinity, there is nothing either created or servile or adventitious ; as if it existed not before, but was afterward introduced. For the Son was never wanting to the Father : nor the Spirit, to the Son. But this Trinity is eternally the same, unchangeable and invariable*¹.

V. Such was the highly venerated Creed or

¹ Εἷς Θεὸς, Πατὴρ Λόγος ζῶντος, Σοφίας ὑφ'εστῶσης, καὶ Δυνάμεως, καὶ Χαρακτῆρος αἰδίου· τέλειος τελείου γεννήτωρ· Πατὴρ Υἱοῦ μονογενοῦς. Εἷς Κύριος, μόνος ἐκ μόνου, Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ· χαρακτὴρ καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς Θεότητος, Λόγος ἐνεργὸς, Σοφία τῆς τῶν ὅλων συστάσεως περιεκτικῆς, καὶ Δύναμις τῆς ὅλης κτίσεως ποιητικῆς· Υἱὸς ἀληθινὸς ἀληθινοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀόρατος ἀοράτου, καὶ ἀφθαρτος ἀφθάρτου, καὶ ἀθάνατος ἀθανάτου, καὶ αἰδίου αἰδίου. Καὶ ἐν Πνεῦμα Ἁγίον, ἐκ Θεοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχον, καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ πεφηνὸς δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, εἰκὼν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τελείου τελεία· ζωὴ, ζώντων αἰτία· πηγὴ ἁγία, ἁγιότης, ἁγιασμοῦ χορηγός· ἐν ᾧ φανεροῦται Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ Θεὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ὁ διὰ πάντων. Τριάς τελεία, δόξα καὶ αἰδιότητι καὶ βασιλείᾳ μὴ μεριζομένη μηδὲ ἀπαλλοτριουμένη. Gregor. Thaum. Symbol. in vit. Gregor. apud Gregor. Nyssen. Oper. vol. ii. p. 978.

¹ Οὔτε οὖν κτιστόν τι ἢ δοῦλον ἐν τῇ Τριάδι, οὔτε ἐπεισακτόν τι, ὥς πρότερον μὲν οὐχ ὑπάρχον, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπείσελθόν. Οὔτε οὖν ἐνέλιπε πότε Υἱὸς Πατρί, οὔτε Υἱῷ Πνεῦμα· ἀλλ' ἄτρεπτος καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος ἡ αὐτὴ Τριάς αἰεί. Ibid. p. 979.

Confession of Gregory Thaumaturgus : and with it fully agree two very ancient Latin Symbols, which have been preserved by Tertullian.

The precise age of these two documents we may not be able to determine : but, as that writer flourished about the year 200 ; they obviously must have been drawn up, not later than during the lapse of the second century, or not later than during the lives of the first succession from the Apostles ¹.

I. One of these ancient Symbols, with Tertullian's introductory comment, runs in manner following.

There is a Rule of Faith, that now henceforth we may profess what we may defend : that Rule, to wit, by which it is thus believed.

Without all doubt, there is one God : nor is there any other beside the Creator of the world ; who, through his own Word emitted first of all things, produced all things out of nothing.

That Word is called his Son. In his name, that is, of God, the Word variously appeared to the Patriarchs : was always heard in the Prophets : was lastly sent, from the Spirit and Virtue of God, into the Virgin Mary ; was made flesh in her womb ; was born from her a man ; and was Jesus Christ. Henceforth, the Word preached a new law and a new promise of the kingdom of heaven : accomplished virtues : was fixed to the cross : rose again

¹ See Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. Oper. p. 274, 275.

on the third day : was snatched up into the heavens : and sat at the right hand of the Father.

This same Word further sent the vicarious energy of the Holy Ghost, who might guide those that believe : and he will finally come with brightness, to take the saints to the fruition of eternal life and of the heavenly promises, and to judge the profane with perpetual fire ; a resurrection of each part being made with the restitution of the flesh¹.

2. The other Symbol speaks exactly to the same purpose.

Both always, and now yet more as being instructed by the Paraclete, we receive and maintain the following articles of Faith.

We believe in one God : but, nevertheless, under this dispensation, which we call the Economy.

¹ Regula est autem fidei, ut jam hinc quid defendamus profiteamur ; illa scilicet, qua creditur :

Unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem ; qui universa ex nihilo produxerit per Verbum suum primo omnium emissum. Id Verbum Filius ejus in nomine Dei variè visum patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex Spiritu Dei et virtute in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, et ex ea natum hominem, et esse Jesum Christum : exinde prædicasse novam legem et novam promissionem regni cœlorum, virtutes fecisse, fixum cruci, tertia die resurrexisse : in cœlos ereptum, sedisse ad dexteram Patris : misisse vicariam vim Spiritus Sancti, qui credentes agat : venturum cum claritate, ad sumendos sanctos in vitæ æternæ et promissorum cœlestium fructum, et ad prophanos judicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resuscitatione cum carnis restitutione. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæret. Oper. p. 100.

We say, that of the one God there is also his Son, namely his Word: who proceeded from him; through whom all things were made; and without whom nothing was made. We believe, that he was sent by the Father into the Virgin; and that from her he was born both man and God, the son of man and the Son of God, named Jesus Christ. We believe, that he suffered, that he died and was buried according to the Scriptures, that he was raised again by the Father, that he was taken back into heaven, that he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and that he will come again to judge both the quick and the dead.

*Who thence, according to his promise, sent forth, from the Father, the Holy Ghost the Paraclete, the sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Ghost*¹.

¹ Nos vero, et semper, et nunc magis ut instructiores per Paracletum deductorem scilicet omnis veritatis, unicum quidem Deum credimus: sub tamen hac dispensatione, quam οἰκονομίαν dicimus: ut unici Dei sit et Filius Sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil. Hunc missum a Patre in Virginem, et ex ea natum hominem et Deum, filium hominis et Filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum. Hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum secundum Scripturas, et resuscitatum a Patre, et in cœlo resumptum, sedere ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos. Qui exinde miserit, secundum promissionem suam, a Patre Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 1. Oper. p. 405.

I need scarcely to remark: that Tertullian's adoption of the whimsical speculation of *the descent of the Paraclete upon Mon-*

3. It is worthy of remark : that, to these two Symbols respectively, Tertullian subjoins two very

tanus, to which he alludes in the exordium of this second Symbol, affects not the doctrine set forth in the Symbol itself. Tertullian's montanistical fancy did not at all interfere with his own abstract belief respecting the nature and economical office of the Holy Ghost. *Here*, so far as I know, he perfectly agreed with the Catholic Church : the standard doctrine of which is propounded in the Symbol.

As for Montanus, whose enthusiastic reveries were so unaccountably adopted by Tertullian, he has been, I think, much misrepresented.

His doctrine I have stated to be ; that *The Paraclete descended upon him* : for, in truth, I can find no sufficient evidence, on the strength of which to charge him with the monstrous notion, sometimes ascribed to him ; that HE HIMSELF *was the Paraclete incarnate*.

From the writings of his proselyte Tertullian, at least, I gather his real doctrine to have been : that *The Paraclete descended upon him, not in the way of personal incarnation, but only as the same Paraclete had already descended upon the Apostles in the day of Pentecost*. Whence, in consequence of this lamentable delusion, he claimed to be the appointed instrument of putting the last finish to the Gospel by rendering it more completely spiritual than the less-gifted Apostles had left it.

Such, through the specially extraordinary inspiration of the Spirit, was the lofty commission, with which Montanus asserted himself to be entrusted : and, avowedly on the strength of it, his followers assumed the name of *πνευματικοὶ* or *spiritual* ; while the despised Catholics they denominated *ψυχικοὶ* or *animal*.

On the whole, I should incline to say, that Montanus was a wrong-headed fanatic ; rather than, in the strictly legitimate sense of the word, that he was a doctrinal heretic.

important declaratory attestations ; each of which respects, not a mere opinion, but an absolute historical FACT.

The following is the attestation, subjoined to the first Symbol.

This Rule, instituted by Christ, admits of no questions among us : except, indeed, only those questions, which heresies introduce, and which in return make heretics ¹.

The following, again, is the attestation, subjoined to the second Symbol.

This Rule or Symbol of Faith has descended to us from the very beginning of the Gospel, even prior to every heretic who can claim the highest antiquity : a matter, which the very circumstance, of All heretics being later than it, will most abundantly demonstrate. In short, against all heresies, this canon may be safely laid down : WHATEVER IS FIRST, IS TRUE ; WHATEVER IS LATER, IS SPURIOUS ².

We can with difficulty conceive, how two such declarations as these could have been publicly and

¹ Hæc regula, a Christo, ut probabitur, instituta, nullas habet apud nos quæstiones ; nisi quas hæreses inferunt, et quæ hæreticos faciunt. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæc. Oper. p. 100.

² Hanc regulam ab initio Evangelii decucurrisse, etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos,—probabit ipsa posteritas omnium hæreticorum.—Quo per æque adversus universas hæreses jam hinc præjudicatum sit : Id esse verum, quodcunque primum ; id esse adulterum, quodcunque posterius. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 1. Oper. p. 405.

controversially hazarded by Tertullian ; declarations, it will be observed, which respect the yea or the nay of a mere naked FACT : unless he had known it to be a matter past all contradiction ; both that the Symbols were universally known and believed, by his contemporaries, to set forth the aboriginal faith of the Catholic Church as taught by Christ and his Apostles ; that the Catholic Church of his own time received them as accurate statements of that faith ; and that a dissent from them, or a rejection of them, was an acknowledged mark of innovating heretical pravity.

VI. We have, however, yet earlier attestation to a FACT, than even that of Tertullian, though *he* was flourishing at the latter end of the second century : the attestation, too, of a much more venerable, and in some respects of a much more competent, witness ; the attestation, annexed to the preëminently ancient Symbol, which has been handed down to us by the holy Irenèus, the scholar of Polycarp, the disciple of St. John ¹.

¹ Perhaps I may be permitted here to mention : that Eusebius has preserved a summary of doctrine equivalent to a Symbol, which, if genuine, may indeed claim to itself the very highest praise both of antiquity and of authority.

This summary purports to be the substance of the prepared first address of the Apostle Thaddèus to King Agbarus and the Edessenens : and Eusebius states ; that he himself translated it *verbatim* from the syriac original, which the Church of Edessa had preserved in her archives.

Such

Polycarp received the crown of martyrdom in the year 147 : and Irenæus, who in his youth was a diligent hearer of him, was born in the year 97, and wrote his Work against heresies in the year 175. Great, therefore, and important, so far as the two points of chronology and personal character are concerned, is the value of his testimony.

But its value is yet further increased by the circumstance, of his having been intimately acquainted with the Churches both of the East and of the West. For, as, during the earlier part of his life, he dwelt in Asia under the immediate eye of his apostolic master Polycarp : so, during the latter part of it, he presided, as Bishop, in the Gallican Church of Lyons.

Thus excellently, in every respect, is he qualified to be an unimpeachable witness both to

Such testimony sufficiently proves the remote antiquity of the document : but, whether it were actually the profession of faith made by the Apostle Thaddæus, is a somewhat different question.

In general, I may observe : that it exhibits the distinct outline of a Creed or rather of an Ecthesis treating of the nature and offices of Christ. And, in particular, I may remark : that, with a plain allusion to the doctrine propounded by the well known text in Philipp. ii. 6—8, it unequivocally sets forth the tenet of our Lord's divinity. Christ, it says, submitted to death : and, by that extraordinary act of humility, ἐσμίκρυνεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα, *he diminished his own godhead, or made his own godhead to be little.* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 13. p. 26.

DOCTRINES and to FACTS : to DOCTRINES, whether they agreed or disagreed with those which he had received from St. John through only the single intervening channel of Polycarp; to FACTS, whether such doctrines were universally received in the Churches both of the East and of the West, and whether the members of those Churches unanimously maintained that in each line of succession they had been regularly handed down from Christ and his Apostles.

In all points, therefore, we cannot have a more thoroughly satisfactory witness than Irenæus : for, in chronology and in character and in competency, he is alike unexceptionable.

The Church, though dispersed through the whole world to the ends of the earth, hath received this Faith from the Apostles and their disciples.

She believes in one God the Father Almighty, who hath made the heaven and the earth and the seas and all things in them.

And in one Jesus Christ the Son of God, who became incarnate for our salvation.

And in the Holy Ghost : who, through the prophets, preached the dispensations, and the advents, and the birth from the Virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the incarnate assumption to heaven, of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ ; and his coming from heaven, in the glory of the Father, to recapitulate all things, and to raise up all flesh of all mankind : in order that, to

*Jesus Christ, our Lord and God and Saviour and King, according to the good pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee may bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth; and in order that every tongue may confess him; and in order that he may in all things execute just judgment*¹.

What, in point of its actual composition or its actual drawing up, the precise age of this venerable Symbol may be, I pretend not to determine: but we can scarcely deem it more modern, than the earlier part of the second century. From his very boyhood, it was evidently familiar to Irenæus: and he both attests, we see, the universal recep-

¹ Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πίστιν· καὶ εἰς ἓνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας· καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας, καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἀνάληψιν, τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ Σωτῆρι, καὶ Βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου, πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἑξομολογήσῃται αὐτῷ, καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσῃται. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. i. c. 2. p. 34—36.

tion of the doctrines which it inculcates ; and stamps, with his own unimpeachable impress the strict apostolicity of those doctrines.

In another place, he gives what may be deemed a sort of paraphrase of it : still, as a FACT, declaring the universal reception of its doctrines, whether delivered in writing or communicated orally.

If it had so happened, that the Apostles had left us no Scriptures : must we not then have followed the order of that tradition, which they committed to those with whom they entrusted the Churches ? To this, many nations of illiterate barbarians, who believe in Christ, do virtually assent. For, by the Spirit, without ink or letters, they have salvation written in their hearts : and they diligently preserve the aboriginal tradition.

Hence, they believe in one God, the maker of heaven and earth and all things in them through Jesus Christ the Son of God : who, out of his exceeding great love toward his own creature, submitted to be born of a virgin, uniting in himself man to God. He suffered under Pontius Pilate : rose again : was received into glory. And he shall come again, the Saviour of those who are saved, and the Judge of those who are judged : sending into eternal fire those, who change the truth, and who despise his Father and his own advent.

Those, who, without letters, have received this faith, are, with respect to our language indeed, barbarians : but, with respect to sentiment and morality

*and conversation, they are very wise through faith ; and, living in all justice and chastity and wisdom, they are pleasing unto God. If any person, speaking in their own language, reports to them the strange inventions of heretics, they quickly shut their ears and flee from them as far as possible, not enduring to hear their blasphemous discourse*¹.

1. From the testimony of Irenæus, we may learn, I think, the following important historical FACTS.

¹ Quid autem, si neque Apostoli quidem Scripturas reliquis-
sent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, quam
tradiderunt iis quibus committebant ecclesias ? Cui ordinationi
assentiunt multæ gentes barbarorum eorum qui in Christum
credunt, sine caractere vel atramento scriptam habentes per
Spiritus in cordibus suis salutem, et veterem traditionem dili-
genter custodientes, in unum Deum credentes fabricatorem cœli
et terræ et omnium quæ in eis sunt per Christum Jesum Dei
Filium. Qui, propter eminentissimam erga figmentum suum
dilectionem, eam quæ esset ex Virgine generationem sustinuit,
ipse per se hominem adunans Deo ; et passus sub Pontio Pilato ;
et, resurgens et in claritate receptus in gloria, venturus salvator
eorum qui salvantur, et iudex eorum qui judicantur, et mittens
in ignem æternum transfiguratōres veritatis et contemptores
Patris sui et adventus ejus.

Hanc fidem qui sine literis crediderunt, quantum ad sermo-
nem nostrum, barbari sunt : quantum autem ad sententiam et
consuetudinem et conversationem, propter fidem, perquam sapi-
entissimi sunt, et placent Deo, conversantes in omni iustitia et
castitate et sapientia. Quibus si aliquis annuntiaverit ea quæ
ab hæreticis adinventæ sunt, proprio sermone eorum colloquens,
statim concludentes aures, longo longius fugient, ne audire qui-
dem sustinentes blasphemum colloquium. Iren. adv. hæ.
lib. iii. c. 4. § 2. p. 172.

(1.) The doctrines, contained in the mutually harmonious Symbols of the Church Catholic, were the doctrines, not merely of a few speculative individuals, but of the whole body of the faithful, whether high or low, whether rich or poor, whether lettered or unlettered, whether refined or barbarian.

(2.) At that early period, those doctrines, in every part of the world and in every distinct provincial Church, were unanimously believed to be the doctrines taught by the Apostles and concordantly handed down from them in each ecclesiastical succession.

(3.) Irenæus, who with perfect certainty must have known *what* doctrines had been in early life communicated to him by Polycarp the immediate disciple of St. John, pronounced the doctrines, taught in the universally received Symbols, to be those identical doctrines, which he had himself personally received from his venerable preceptor under the assurance that his preceptor had first personally received the very same doctrines from the mouth of the inspired Apostle.

(4.) Such persons, as, starting up occasionally, in this place or in that place, in this year or in that year, impugned the doctrines contained in the Symbols, were invariably, by the members of the Catholic Communion, viewed with horror, as profane innovators, who had departed from the primitive rule of faith : that rule, which was well known

to have been delivered by the Apostles, and which was carefully preserved, with perfect mutual agreement, by each detached Society of Christians, in whatever part of the earth, under its proper Bishop and Presbyters, that Society might have its local habitation.

2. These FACTS, simply *as facts*, are manifestly established by the direct testimony of Irenèus: and, from them all conjointly, on the just principles of historical evidence, the following additional palmary FACT must assuredly result.

The doctrines, contained in the Symbol preserved and explained by Irenèus, were the precise doctrines, taught by the Apostles, and from them handed down in all the various harmonising successions to the entire and collective Church Catholic.

3. In the abstract, the Apostles themselves may have been men divinely inspired, as Christians believe; or they may have been crafty impostors, as infidels contend: but *this* precise question, under *this* special aspect, is nothing to my *present* purpose. I am *now* concerned with mere historical FACTS: and one of those FACTS is; that, *Whether abstractedly true or abstractedly false, the Apostles taught the identical doctrines contained in the Symbol handed down to us by Irenèus.*

VII. Beside the larger Symbols which I have adduced, there was occasionally used in the early Church a very short Symbol, which seems

to have been denominated *the Symbol of the Trinity*.

The notice of this short Creed will lead me to dwell somewhat more fully than I have hitherto done on that very important part of my subject, the public profession of faith made by *every* Catechumen, at the time of his baptism, in the words of some one of the several harmonising Symbols adopted by the various provincial branches of the one Church Catholic.

I call this part of my subject *important*, because the very circumstance of such *universal* public profession distinctly evinces : that the doctrinal system, uniformly propounded in all the Symbols alike, was not a congeries of speculations, taken up by a few fanciful individuals, subsequent to the time of the Apostles, and in opposition to the system which *they* had taught ; but that it was the system, invariably received throughout the entire Church, in all parts of the world, from the very apostolic age itself¹.

³ "Οσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὐχέσθαι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχομένων καὶ συνηστεύόντων αὐτοῖς. Ἐπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ, τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται. Ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ Δεσπότου Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιῶνται. Justin.

Immediately previous to his baptism, *each* Catechumen, whatever might be his rank or attainments, was interrogated as to his faith: and he then, thus adopting it as his own, made his public profession, either in the form of some one of the longer Symbols, or in the form of that shorter Symbol which was called *the Symbol of the Trinity*. Now this shorter Symbol was evidently constructed upon the form of administering baptism, which our Lord himself had prescribed: and it ran in manner following.

*I believe in God: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*¹.

In the original Greek, as Bishop Bull justly observes, the sentence is so constructed, that the word *God* belongs, as a common predicate, to *the Son* and to *the Spirit*, no less than to *the Father*: and, this indubitable sense of the Creed, I have, accordingly, in the English version of it, expressed by the instrumentality of punctuation. I say *indubitable*: because, agreeably to the force of the original, it was thus understood by the ancients,

Apol. i. Oper. p. 73. See also Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox. in Oper. Justin. p. 325. Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 200,

¹ *Ἡστανεύω εἰς τὸν Θεόν· τὸν Πατέρα, τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.* See Bull. Jud. Eccles. Cathol. c. iv. § 3. The most absolutely strict translation of this Creed gives the sense of its framers even yet more definitely and precisely. *I believe in the Deity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*

who should best know the meaning which it was intended to convey.

My authority for styling this short Creed *the Symbol of the Trinity* is Firmilian in his epistle to Cyprian. The very name, which he bestows upon it, shews how it was understood : and he speaks, at the same time, of the legitimate ecclesiastical interrogation, to which this Symbol of the Trinity was the appointed answer¹.

The same account of the matter is given by Cyril of Jerusalem in those supplemental lectures, which he was wont to deliver to his late Catechumens subsequent to their baptism.

*Ye were brought, says he, to the holy laver of divine baptism, as Christ was brought from the cross to his appointed sepulchre : and there each one of you was asked, if he believed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost ; and ye confessed a salutary confession, and ye were thrice plunged beneath the water and thrice emerged from it*².—*For each one of you, when interrogated, was*

¹ Nunquid et hoc Stephanus, et qui illi consentiunt, comprobant : maximè cui nec *Symbolum Trinitatis*, nec interrogatio legitima et ecclesiastica defuit ? Potest credi aut remissio peccatorum data, aut lavacri salutaris regeneratio rite perfecta, ubi omnia, quamvis ad imaginem veritatis, tamen per dæmonem gesta sunt ? Nisi si et dæmonem *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, gratiam baptismi dedisse contendunt, qui hæreticorum baptismum defendunt. Firmil. Epist. ad Cyprian. Epist. lxxv. Cyprian. Oper. vol. ii. p. 223.

² Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐχειραγω-

*directed to answer: I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance*¹.

To the same purpose also speaks Tertullian, at a much earlier period than that during which Cyril flourished.

*When our Lord was leaving this world, his last command was, that his Apostles should baptise into the Father and into the Son and into the Holy Ghost, not into any one of them separately from the others. Hence we are dipped, not merely once, but three times; each immersion at each name of each person*².—*Before we enter into the water, and some little time previously in the church under the hand of the Bishop, we protest, that we renounce the devil and his pomp and his angels. Then we are immersed three times, answering somewhat more than the Lord in the Gospel commanded*³.

γεῖσθε κολυμβήθραν, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐπὶ τὸ προ-
κείμενον μνῆμα· καὶ ἡρωτάτο ἕκαστος, εἰ πιστεύει εἰς τὸ ὄνομα
τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος· καὶ ὡμολο-
γήσατε τὴν σωτήριον ὁμολογίαν, καὶ κατεδύετε τρίτον εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ,
καὶ πάλιν ἀνεδύετε. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Myst. ii. p. 232.

¹ Τότε σοὶ ἐλέγετο εἰπεῖν· Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ εἰς τὸν
Υἱὸν, καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας.
Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Myst. i. p. 230.

² Novissimè mandans, ut tingerent in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, non in unum. Nam, nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in singulas personas tingimur. Tertull. adv. Prax. § xvi. Oper. p. 426.

³ Aquam adituri ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub

Tertullian's expression, *answering somewhat more*, plainly refers to the renunciation of the devil and his works : which he had mentioned immediately before ; and which, he tells us, was made at the font as well as previously in the church before the Bishop. This renunciation, however decorous and proper, still constituted no part of the precise baptismal formula which our Lord commanded in the Gospel. Hence Tertullian accurately calls it *somewhat more*. But the very necessity of his language implies, that, as in baptism the candidates answered *somewhat more* than our Lord commanded, they of course answered also what our Lord *did* command. If, then, they answered according to what our Lord *did* command, they must clearly, when interrogated, have made a profession of faith expressly built upon the baptismal formula. And, accordingly, as we learn both from Firmilian and from Cyril, that profession was a solemn recital of the short Creed denominated *the Symbol of the Trinity*. I may add, that Tertullian has given us, what is manifestly an *interpretation* of the present Symbol, and what shews most distinctly the *propriety* of its familiar appellation.

The Father is God ; and the Son is God ;

antistitis manu contestamur, nos renunciare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus. Dehinc ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid respondententes, quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit. Tertull. de coron. mil. § ii. Oper. p. 449.

*and the Spirit is God: and each one of them is God*¹.

Such was the Creed publicly professed by *every* individual, when, by baptism, he was admitted into the Catholic Church of Christ. On receiving the legitimate ecclesiastical interrogation, as Firmilian speaks, he recited and declared his assent to the Symbol of the Trinity. The necessity of making this profession excluded all, who could not receive, what was, in all the Churches, held and believed to be the primitive apostolic doctrine: and those, who stood thus excluded, or those, who subsequently (in the language of the Antiochian Fathers) abjured the mystery into which they had been baptised, were from the very first pronounced, even by the mere circumstance of their upstart novelty, to be manifest corrupters of the ancient and sincere faith².

If any one, says Cyprian, could be baptised among the heretics, he might obtain also remission of sins: and, if he obtained remission of sins, he might be sanctified and made the temple of God. But, I ask, of what God? If of the Creator; he, who did not believe in him, could not be made his temple: if of Christ; neither could he, who denies Christ to be God, be the temple of Christ: if of the Holy Spirit;

¹ Pater Deus; et Filius Deus; et Spiritus Deus: et Deus unusquisque. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 10. Oper. p. 414.

² Τὸν ἐξορχησάμενον τὸ μυστήριον. Epist. Episc. Antioch. Concil. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 30. p. 230.

since these three are one, how could the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him, who is an enemy both to the Father and to the Son ¹ ?

But not only was the brief Symbol of the Trinity recited by every Catechumen at the time of his baptism : some one of the larger Creeds, whatever might be the precise form adopted by each particular provincial Church, was also recited by him, on the same occasion, before the Bishop or Presbyter and the whole Assembly of the Faithful.

Such, as Ruffinus testifies, was the ancient custom in the Roman Church ² : and such, as the assembled Fathers of the first Nicene Council testify, was the custom in all the various Churches, where they themselves had severally been catechised and baptised ³.

¹ Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 203. See above, book i. c. 5. § v.

² Mos ibi (scil. Romæ) servatur antiquus, eos, qui gratiam baptismi suscepturi sunt, publicè, id est, fidelium populo audi-
enti, symbolum reddere. Ruffin. Expos. in Symbol. Apost.
art. i. ad calc. Cyprian. Oper. p. 17. Oxon. 1682.

Ruffinus of Aquileia flourished in the fourth century : and he speaks of the custom, we see, as being even *then* an ancient one.

³ Καθὼς παρελάβομεν, say the collective Fathers of the first Nicene Council respecting the Symbol out of which they had severally received their christian institution, παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κατηχήσει, καὶ ὅτε τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν. Euseb. Pamphil. Epist. ad Eccles. Cæsar. Palæst. apud Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 8. Theodor. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 12. Gelas. Cyzic. Hist. Concil. Nic. prim. lib. ii. c. 34.

One of the larger Symbols, with the antecedent renunciation, thrown into the precise form in which immediately before his baptism it was publicly recited by the now fully prepared Catechumen, has been preserved in the Work denominated *The Apostolical Constitutions*.

I renounce Satan, and his works, and his pomps, and his service, and his angels, and his inventions, and all that are subject to him : and I devote myself to Christ.

And I believe : and I am baptised into the one unbegotten alone true Almighty God, the Father of the Christ, the maker and creator of all things, from whom are all things.

And into the Lord Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son ; born before the whole creation, begotten before the worlds through the good pleasure of the Father ; through whom all things were made, both in heaven and on earth, both visible and invisible ; who came down from heaven in the last days, and assumed flesh, and was born from the holy Virgin Mary, and lived holily after the laws of his God and Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us ; and after his passion rose again from the dead on the third day, and ascended to heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father ; and will come again with glory at the end of the world to judge the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end.

And I am baptised into the Holy Ghost, that is

*the Paraclete ; who worketh in all the saints, from the beginning of the world ; but who was afterward sent also to the Apostles from the Father according to the promise of our Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, and, after the Apostles, to all who believe in the Holy Catholic Church : and I am baptised into the resurrection of the flesh, and the forgiveness of sins, and the kingdom of heaven, and the life of the future world*¹.

¹ Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς λατρεῖαις αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς ἐφεύρεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτόν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀποταγὴν, συντασσόμενος λεγέτω, ὅτι Καὶ συντάσσομαι τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ πιστεύω, καὶ βαπτίζομαι εἰς ἓνα ἀγέννητον μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· καὶ εἰς τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν, τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων εὐδοκία τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα, τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν κατελθόντα ἐξ οὐρανῶν, καὶ σὰρκα ἀναλαβόντα, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Μαρίας γεννηθέντα, καὶ πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως μετὰ τοὺς νόμους τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἀποθανόντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος· βαπτίζομαι καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τουτέστι τὸν Παράκλητον, τὸ ἐνεργῆσαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἁγίοις, ὕστερον δὲ ἀποσταλὲν καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ

To the testimonies which have been already adduced for the historical establishment of the very important fact, that, at the time of his baptism, *every* Catechumen openly received and solemnly adopted as his own the Symbol of the Church into which he was admitted a member, I may fitly subjoin that of the venerable Irenæus.

He has preserved to us, as we have seen, the primitive Symbol which was used in his days : and he has attached to it the two-fold declaration ; that *it exhibited the faith of the Universal Church in every quarter of the world*, and that *the Universal Church received it from the Apostles and their disciples*¹.

Now, respecting this Symbol which he pronounces to be *the immoveable rule of the truth*, he informs us : that *each* believer, at the time of his baptism, accepted and adopted it, as a firm safeguard against the blasphemies of heresy².

Would we, therefore, learn the faith of *every* individual member of the Catholic Church from the very beginning, nothing more is requisite, than

εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Constit. Apost. lib. vii. c. 41. Patr. Apost. Cotel. vol. i. p. 383.

¹ See above, book i. chap. 6. § vi.

² Οὕτω δὲ ὁ τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλινῇ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχων, ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἴληφε, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν ὀνόματα, καὶ τὰς λέξεις, καὶ τὰς παραβολὰς, ἐπιγνώσεται, τὴν δὲ βλάσφημον ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην ἐπιγνώσεται. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. i. c. 1. § 57. p. 34.

that we should simply peruse the Symbol handed down to us by Irenèus from the Apostles and their disciples.

VIII. In conclusion, I may be allowed to call the attention of the dispassionate investigator of historical truth to the remarkable harmony of all these ancient Creeds which I have collected together.

Irenèus asserts the unity of the catholic faith throughout the whole world: and the various Symbols of the three first centuries, whether Latin or Greek or African, fully bear him out in his assertion.

For the most part, even their phraseology is the same: but, invariably, their arrangement and their doctrine are identical.

Now this is A MERE NAKED FACT, of which each individual may form a competent judgment. The DOCTRINE, taught in the Symbols, he may receive or he may reject. But the bare FACT itself will remain unaltered, whatever may be his own personal opinion as to the abstract truth or falsehood of the doctrine in question.

CHAPTER VII.

RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY AFFORDED TO THE FACT
OF THE POSITIVE ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF
THE TRINITY, BY THE ANCIENT LITURGIES OF THE
EARLY CHURCH.

WITH the avowed theological belief of men, their mode of worship will inevitably correspond: for it is a plain contradiction to suppose, that their belief will be of one description, but that their mode of worship will be of another.

A Trinitarian will ever worship, as a Trinitarian: and an Antitrinitarian will ever worship, as an Antitrinitarian.

Neither can unite with the other in the same form of public adoration. By the conscience of each, whether well or ill informed, this species of communion is effectually precluded.

Hence, even by necessary anticipation, we may be morally certain: that the Liturgies of the early Church will speak the same language as her Symbols.

Such, accordingly, is the fact.

As Bishop Bull well observes, all the ancient Liturgies extant, in whatever part of the world they may have been used, contain, under one modification or another, that solemn concluding Doxology to the Blessed Trinity with which every Catholic is so abundantly familiar ¹.

GLORY BE TO THE FATHER, AND TO THE SON, AND TO THE HOLY GHOST : BOTH NOW, AND ALWAY, AND TO ALL ETERNITY ².

This Doxology is evidently built upon that brief and most remotely ancient Creed, which was familiarly denominated *the Symbol of the Trinity*.

I BELIEVE IN GOD : THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE HOLY GHOST ³.

And the Symbol of the Trinity, again, is manifestly founded upon the formula of baptism enjoined and appointed by our Lord himself.

BAPTISE IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST ⁴.

¹ Bull's Serm. serm. xiii. Works, vol. i. p. 331—333. Oxon.

² Δόξα Πατρὶ, καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Athan. de Virginit. Oper. vol. i. p. 829.

The clause, *As it was in the beginning*, is not so ancient as the rest of the Doxology, having been subsequently added by the Western or Latin Church. Hence, as we shall presently observe, it occurs not in any of the modifications of the Doxology, which are about to be adduced.

³ Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Θεόν· τὸν Πατέρα, τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

⁴ Matt. xxviii. 19.

For, if each Catechumen is to be baptised in the *name* of the three divine persons : each Christian is required to profess his *belief* in the three divine persons. And, if each Christian be required thus to profess his *belief* in the three divine persons : the *Doxology*, to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, as used in public worship, will be the necessary consequence.

The Liturgy which commonly bears the name of *the Clementine Liturgy*, and the Directory which accompanies it, have been preserved in the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions.

This Liturgy, whatever may be its actual antiquity, is confessed, in all its leading or principal parts, to exhibit the order of public worship observed in the Eastern Churches at least before the time of Constantine. Neither the Clementine Liturgy, however, nor any other of the old Liturgies, was committed to writing until the fifth century. Hence, as it is impossible to know with certainty what additions may have been then made to the really ancient formula, I should not deem it satisfactory to produce evidence from this Liturgy under the aspect of *primitive* testimony, unless such evidence were confirmed by other distinct and more ancient parallel testimony. Now the Clementine Liturgy affords evidence of the precise description here required. Under various modifications, it again and again presents the Doxology to the three persons of the Trinity, as

forming a constituent part of the public worship of the Church : and the Doxology itself is evinced to be of primeval antiquity by a mass of testimony altogether distinct from the Liturgy.

In my exemplification, then, of the present line of evidence, I shall confine myself, on the one hand, to what is probably the oldest Liturgy extant, and, on the other hand, to those concurrent or parallel attestations which are of known and definite antiquity.

I. The framers of the Clementine Liturgy seem to have made it a principle, that public prayers ought to close with a solemn Doxology to the three persons of the blessed Trinity.

1. Such, for instance, is the conclusion of the prayer at the ordination of Bishops.

Through thy holy child Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour : through whom be glory and honour and worship to thee, in the Holy Ghost, both now and ever and to all eternity ¹.

2. Such, again, is the end of the prayer for the Catechumens.

Through Christ our hope, who died for them : through whom be glory and worship to thee, in the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever ².

¹ Διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, ἐν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. 5. Patr. Apost. Cotel. vol. i. p. 396.

² Διὰ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, τοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντος

3. Similar, also, is the conclusion of the prayer for those, who are about to be baptised.

*Through Christ our Saviour: through whom be glory and honour and worship to thee, in the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever*¹.

4. Such, likewise, is the conclusion of the prayer for the penitents.

*Through Christ our God and Saviour: through whom be glory and adoration to thee, in the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever*².

5. Such, again, is the end of the general prayer for the faithful.

*Make them worthy of eternal life, which is in Christ thy only-begotten Son, our God and Saviour: through whom be glory and worship to thee, in the Holy Ghost, now and alway and to all eternity*³.

6. In the same manner also concludes the consecration prayer before the administration of the Eucharist; a prayer, which embodies within

τος· δι' οὗ σοι δόξα καὶ τὸ σέβας, ἐν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. 6. p. 398.

¹ Διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, ἐν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. 8. p. 399.

² Διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν δι' οὗ σοι δόξα καὶ προσκύνησις, ἐν τῷ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Const. Apos. lib. viii. c. 9. p. 400.

³ Καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Υἱῷ σου τῷ μονογενεῖ, τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν δι' οὗ σοι δόξα καὶ σέβας, ἐν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Const. Apos. lib. viii. c. 11. p. 402.

itself a complete profession of the Catholic Faith : while it analogously is ushered in by a solemn benediction in the names of the three persons of the Holy Trinity.

The grace of the Almighty God, and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.

And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them up unto the Lord¹.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

It is meet and right so to do.

It is very meet and right to praise the true God before all things.—For all glory and worship and thanksgiving and honour and adoration be unto thee, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, both now and alway and through the unceasing and endless ages of eternity².

¹ This venerable formula is at least as old as the days of Cyprian, most probably much older.

Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes, dicendo, *Sursum corda*:—respondet plebs, *Habemus ad Dominum*. Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. Oper. vol. i. p. 152.

² Ἡ χάρις τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἔστω μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σου.

Ἄνω τὸν νοῦν.

Ἐχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.

Εὐχαριστήσωμεν

7. Such, again, is the close of the Bishop's invocation, which immediately follows the general prayer for the whole body of the faithful.

*Be our help, our assistance, our defence, through thy Christ: with whom, to thee and to the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, praise, doxology, thanksgiving, for ever and ever*¹.

8. A similar Doxology occurs at the end of the prayer after the communion.

*Gather us all together into the kingdom of heaven, in Christ Jesus our Lord: with whom, to thee and to the Holy Ghost, be glory and honour and worship, for ever and ever*².

9. The consecutive prayer of the Bishop is still characterised by the same regular doxological conclusion.

Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

Ἄξιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ δίκαιον, πρὸ πάντων ἀννυμεῖν σε τὸν ὄντως ὄντα Θεόν.—Ὅτι σοι πᾶσα δόξη, σέβας καὶ εὐχαριστία, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνελλειπέεις καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Const. Apos. lib. viii. c. 12. p. 403, 408.

¹ Βοηθὸς ἡμῶν γενοῦ, ἀντιλήπτωρ, ὑπερασπιστὴς, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, αἴνος, δοξολογία, εὐχαριστία, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Const. Apos. lib. viii. c. 13. p. 409.

² Πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπισυνάγαγε εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν· μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Const. Apos. lib. viii. c. 15. p. 410.

To thee be glory, praise, majesty, worship, adoration ; and to thy Son Jesus thy Christ, our Lord and God and King ; and to the Holy Ghost : now, and alway, and to all eternity ¹.

10. With a similar Doxology concludes the prayer at the ordination of Presbyters.

Through thy Christ : with whom, to thee and to the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and worship, for ever and ever ².

11. Such, also, is the conclusion of the prayer at the ordination of Deacons.

Through the mediation of thy only-begotten Son : with whom, to thee and to the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and worship, through all eternity ³.

12. Such, finally, are the conclusions of the two prayers at the appointment of Subdeacons and Readers.

Through thy Christ : with whom, to thee and to the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and worship, for ever and ever ⁴.

¹ Ὅτι σοι δόξα, αἶνος, μεγαλοπρέπεια, σέβας, προσκύνησις, καὶ τῷ σῷ παιδὶ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Χριστῷ σου τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεῷ καὶ Βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Const. Apos. lib. viii. c. 15. p. 411.

² Διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Const. Apos. lib. viii. c. 16. p. 411.

³ Διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ· μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Const. Apos. lib. viii. c. 18. p. 412.

⁴ Διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, καὶ

*Through Christ : with whom, to thee and to the Holy Ghost, be glory and worship, through all eternity*¹.

II. Since, as I have already observed, the old Clementine Liturgy, like the other ancient Liturgies, was not committed to writing until the fifth century, I should not have cited the often-repeated conclusion of its prayers in evidence to the positive antiquity of the doctrine of the Trinity, had not the primeval existence and public use of the Doxology been fully determined by the concurrent attestation of a series of witnesses all chronologically prior to the first Nicene Council.

1. About the year 220, we may observe it employed by Hippolytus, as the most proper conclusion of his Treatise against Noëtus².

2. About the year 200, Tertullian refers to it, as a clear proof of the universal reception of the doctrine of Christ's divinity³.

τῷ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Const. Apos. lib. viii. c. 21. p. 413.

¹ Διὰ Χριστοῦ μεθ' οὗ σοι ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ σέβας, καὶ τῷ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Const. Apos. lib. viii. c. 22. p. 413.

² Οὗτος ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἄνθρωπος δι' ἡμᾶς γεγονώς, ᾧ πάντα ὑπέταξεν Πατήρ. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, ἅμα Πατρὶ καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Hippol. cont. Noët. c. xviii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 20. For the precise phraseology ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, compare 1 Peter iv. 11. v. 10, 11.

³ Ex ore, quo *Amen* in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testi-

3. About the year 194, we find it used by Clement of Alexandria ¹.

4. About the year 175, Irenæus incidentally remarks, that it was employed by the Catholic Church in the course of her ordinary liturgical thanksgivings ².

5. In the year 147, it was used at the stake by the venerable Polycarp : and, at the same time, it was attached, by the collective members of the

monium reddere ; εἰς αἰῶνας alii omnino dicere, nisi Deo Christo ? Tertull. de Spectac. Oper. p. 700.

On the ground of *the Doxology referring to Christ's god-head*, Tertullian reprobates the laudatory cry of εἰς αἰῶνας, its invariable conclusion, when directed from any christian mouth to a victorious gladiator.

¹ Αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα καὶ τιμὴ, σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Clem. Alex. Fragment. iv. in Oper. Hippol. vol. ii. p. 70. See also, under a somewhat larger form, this Doxology at the conclusion of Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. iii. c. 12. Oper. p. 266.

² Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας λέγοντας, Εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἐκείνους τοὺς αἰῶνας σημαίνειν. Iren. adv. Hær. lib. i. c. 1. p. 10.

From the circumstance of the Church, in the course of her ordinary liturgical thanksgivings, always concluding the Doxology with the phrase Εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, the Valentinians argued in favour of their wild theory of Eons. But this they could not have done, had not the constant liturgical use of the Doxology, throughout the entire second century, been a matter so universally known, as to be perfectly familiar to the very Heretics.

Church of Smyrna, to the Epistle, in which they communicated the account of his martyrdom ¹.

6. Finally, we have the direct attestation of Justin Martyr : that, in his days, the prayers and thanksgivings of the Church invariably terminated with some one or other modification of it.

In all that we offer up, says he, we bless the Creator of all things, through his Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Ghost ².

The conversion of Justin to the faith of the Gospel took place, about the year 130, or only about some thirty years after the death of St. John.

We learn, therefore : that, under one phraseological variation or another, the liturgical prayers

¹ Αἰνῶ σε, εὐλογῶ σε, δοξάζω σε, σὺν τῷ αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἀγαπητῷ σου παιδί· μεθ' οὗ σοι καὶ Πνεύματι Ἀγίῳ ἡ δόξα, καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. § xiv. Patr. Apost. Cotel. vol. ii. p. 201.

Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεθα, ἀδελφοί, στοιχοῦντας τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λόγῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· μεθ' οὗ δόξα τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκλεκτῶν. Ibid. § xxii. p. 204.

It may be added, that Pionius, the copyist of the Epistle, still winds up the whole with the same familiar Doxology.

Ἵνα καὶ με συναγάγῃ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα, σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ibid. § xxiv. p. 204.

² Ἐπὶ πᾶσί τε οἷς προσφερόμεθα, εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν πάντων, διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἀγίου. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 77.

and praises of the Church, from at the least an era which within thirty years reaches the apostolic age, always terminated with a solemn joint doxology to the three persons of the Trinity; those three divine persons, whom Justin, speaking in the plural form, declares to have been universally worshipped by his contemporaries, in avowed consequence of the catechetical instruction which they themselves had received from their ecclesiastical predecessors ¹.

¹ Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 43. For the passage itself, see above, book i. chap. 4. § XIII.

CHAPTER VIII.

RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY AFFORDED TO THE FACT
OF THE POSITIVE ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF
THE TRINITY, BY THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CHRISTIAN
MYSTERIES.

As men religiously believe, and as they frame their liturgies in correspondence with their religious belief: so likewise, to proselytes or to children, will they communicate theological instruction.

If the early Church held the doctrine of the Trinity: we may be sure, that that doctrine would, in due time, be communicated to every convert and to every child of christian parents.

Hence, if it should appear that no such doctrine was ever so communicated: there would be a strong presumption, that no such doctrine was ever collectively or ecclesiastically maintained.

Having observed, as Athanasius remarks, the great wisdom of the Apostles, in not prematurely communicating the doctrine of Christ's divinity to

those who were unprepared to receive it¹: the Church, from a very early period, adopted a mode of institution, reasonable and natural in itself, but singular on account of its attendant phraseology.

During the first part of their theological education, nothing more than the *general* truths of Christianity was communicated to the Catechumens: and so slowly was the divine light suffered to beam upon what Tertullian calls *the preparatory Schools of the Auditors*², that it was not until the very eve of their baptism, that its *particular* truths, viewed as universally depending upon one preëminent truth, were at length distinctly propounded. To their instruction in these particular truths, of which they had hitherto been kept (so far as it was possible to keep them) in a state of profound ignorance, were devoted the forty days which immediately preceded their baptism: and this studied concealment was rendered the more easy, because, in the primitive Church, the sacrament of Baptism was administered only at the two great festivals of Easter and Whitsuntide³.

¹ See Athan. de sent. Dionys. cont. Arian. Oper. vol. i. p. 432. This was the precise mode of instruction employed in the Christian Mysteries.

² Auditorum tyrocinia. Tertull. de Pœnit. Oper. p. 481. *Audientes et Auditores* ea ætas vocabat Catechumenos. Rhennan. Comment. in loc.

³ Ambros. Epist. ad Marcell. xxxiii. Oper. col. 582. Ambros. de his qui myster. initiant. c. i. Oper. col. 1229. Hieron.

Such a catechetical process, advancing from *generals* to *particulars* and from *the less recondite* to *the more recondite*, was undoubtedly both natural and rational: but its attendant phraseology was not a little remarkable.

The institution of the Catechumens was spoken of as AN INITIATION INTO THE CHRISTIAN MYSTERIES: and the communication of what was deemed the preëminent particular truth of Revelation, with its subordinate and dependent particular truths, was considered and technically mentioned as THE FINAL ENUNCIATION OF THE GRAND SECRET.

After this vital secret had been propounded to him, the now fully instructed and therefore *competent* Catechumen, advancing to the laver of regeneration, and there (when questioned as to his faith) distinctly asserting the secret which he had previously received, became henceforth an *Illuminated Mysta*: and, in such capacity, he was carefully charged to refrain from betraying the secret to *those who were without* or to those who were still uninitiated ¹.

Epist. ad Pammach. lxi. c. 4. Oper. vol. ii. p. 180. Cyril. Catech. xvii. p. 201. Rhenan. Comment. in Tertull. de coron. mil. Oper. p. 433. Isidor. in Comment. in Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. Oper. p. 219. Wheatley on the Common Prayer. chap. v. sect. 19. § 2.

¹ Cui nec Symbolum Trinitatis, nec interrogatio legitima et ecclesiastica, defuit. Firmil. Epist. ad Cyprian. lxxv. in Oper. Cyprian. vol. ii. p. 223.

Ἡρωτᾶτο ἕκαστος, εἰ πιστεύει εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ

When the Catechism is recited, says Cyril of Jerusalem in the Preface to those Catecheses wherein he professes to reveal the secret of the Mysteries, if a Catechumen shall ask you what the Teachers said: tell nothing to him that is without. For we have delivered to you the mystery and the hope of the future contest. Keep, then, the mystery to him who will repay you: and regard not, if any one shall say; What great harm can there be, should I also learn? Know, that sick men ask for wine: yet, if it shall be unseasonably given to them, it produces frenzy. And thence result two bad consequences: the sick man dies; and the physician is blamed. In like manner, the Catechumen, if he hear the Mysteries from the faithful, becomes phrenetical. For he understands not what he hears: and thence the faithful is condemned as a betrayer.—When you were only a Catechumen, I did not reveal the Mysteries to you: and, when by experience you shall have learned their sublimity, you will then perceive, that the mere Catechumens are unworthy to hear them.—These Catechetical Lectures of the Illuminated you may, indeed, communicate, either to those who are approaching to baptism, or to the faithful who have been already baptised. But reveal them not, in any wise, either to the Catechumens, or to

τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Myst. ii. p. 232.

Τότε σοὶ ἐλέγετο εἰπεῖν· Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Cyril. Catech. Myst. i. p. 230.

*those who are not Christians: lest you should thus make yourself accountable to the Lord*¹.

Thus speaks Cyril of Jerusalem in the fourth century: and, from the concurring attestation of Lactantius, Origen, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and others who might easily be enumerated, the *existence* of these Mysteries in the early Church is indisputable².

Our present business, however, is: partly, with *the amount of their antiquity*; and, partly, with *the nature of the grand secret which they professed to communicate*.

I. In regard to *the antiquity of the Christian Mysteries*, Origen and Clement of Alexandria seem inclined to carry it up even to the time of Christ and his Apostles.

They observe: that the founder of our faith and his inspired servants, among whom may specially be mentioned St. Paul, both adopted, in the way of accommodation, the very phraseology of the old Pagan Mysteries; and likewise systematically communicated the secrets of revelation, not promiscuously to every casual hearer, but only to

¹ Cyril. Hieros. Præf. in Catech. p. 6, 9.

² Cyril. Hieros. Præf. in Catech. p. 3, 6, 7, 8, 9. Lactant. Inst. lib. vii. § 26. p. 729. Orig. Comment. in Johan. Oper. vol. ii. p. 97, 98. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 7, 8. lib. iii. p. 139, 143. Tertull. Apol. adv. gent. Oper. p. 821. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. p. 574—579. lib. vi. p. 665, 676. lib. vii. p. 752.

those who by previous discipline had been prepared for their reception ¹.

Whence they evidently would have us infer: that the Christian Mysteries, as conducted in their days, though in form and phraseology copied from the Pagan Mysteries, had been instituted and appointed from the very beginning ².

Be this as it may, we can certainly trace the actual existence of the Ecclesiastical Mysteries considerably higher than the middle of the second century.

1. It has been doubted: whether the very ancient author of the Epistle to Diognetus was Justin Martyr himself, to whom it is commonly ascribed, and among whose Works it is commonly placed; or whether he was some other primitive writer, whose name has not come down to us. But, whoever this individual may have been, he distinctly professes himself to be a disciple of the Apostles: and the vein of genuine piety, which runs through the whole composition, forbids the

¹ See Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iii. p. 139, 143. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. p. 574—579. lib. vi. p. 676. lib. vii. p. 752.

² The *phraseological* and *mechanical* correspondence of the Christian Mysteries with the Pagan Mysteries was too obvious to be overlooked. Accordingly, we find it noticed and even insisted upon, in a very full and remarkable manner, both by Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria. See Tertull. Apol. adv. gent. Oper. p. 821. Clem. Alex. Admon. ad gent. Oper. p. 74, 75. Strom. lib. v. p. 574—579.

uncharitable conjecture, that this profession was simulated.

Now his language imports: not only that the Mysteries existed in his days; but that, on the divine authority of Christ himself, they had been handed down from the Apostles¹.

2. An incidental testimony, to the same effect, is borne also by the real Justin Martyr, who was converted to Christianity about the year 130.

He informs us: that, in his time, the laver of Baptism was styled *Illumination*; and that the person baptised was said to be *Illuminated*².

¹ Τὸ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν θεοσεβείας μυστήριον μὴ προσδοκίῃς δύνασθαι παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μαθεῖν.—Οὐ ξένα ὁμιλῶ, οὐδὲ παρὰ λόγως ζητῶ· ἀλλὰ, ἀποστόλων γενόμενος μαθητῆς, γίνομαι διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν. Τὰ παραδοθέντα ἀξίοις ὑπηρετῶ γινομένοις ἀληθείας μαθηταῖς.—Οἱ πιστοὶ λογισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔγνωσαν Πατρὸς μυστήρια. Epist. ad Diognet. in Oper. Justin. p. 383, 387.

² Καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν Φωτισμὸς, ὡς Φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μαθανόντων· καὶ, ἐπ' ὀνόματος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος Πνεύματος Ἁγίου ὃ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προεκήρυξε τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντα, ὁ Φωτιζόμενος λούεται.—Ἡμεῖς δὲ, μετὰ τὸ οὕτως λοῦσαι τὸν πεπεισμένον καὶ συγκατατεθειμένον, ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀδελφοῖς ἄγομεν, ἔνθα συνηγμένοι εἰσὶ, κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ Φωτισθέντος. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 74, 76.

In another place of the same Apology, Justin says, Οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν μυστήριον ἢ ἀνέδην μίξις, *Promiscuous fornication is not our Mystery*. Ibid. p. 55.

A denial of the common pagan accusation, when couched in

Now this is the precise technical phraseology of the Christian Mysteries : as any one may satisfy himself by a mere perusal of the titles prefixed to each of the eighteen Catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem.

But the *technical phraseology* of the Mysteries implies the *existence* of the Mysteries themselves : for the Mysteries, no doubt, gave birth to the phraseology.

Therefore, the conventional language of *Illumination* and *Illuminated*, as recorded by Justin, imports : that, in his days, the Mysteries were in actual existence ; and that, from whatever source, their mechanism had been adopted into the discipline of the Church.

3. In truth, the very narrative of Justin implies : that the Mysteries were still more ancient, than even the period during which *he* flourished.

He speaks not of their having been *then* recently instituted, as an *improved* mode of communicating doctrinal Christianity. But he alludes to them as *already* existing : and he notes their phraseology, as at that time familiarly and generally employed in the administration of Baptism. *That laver*, says he, *is called Illumination : for*

such terms as these, imports : that the Christians, as the Pagans well knew, *had* certain Mysteries, which *taught* a certain secret ; though *that* secret was not, as the Pagans calumniously alleged, *the practice of promiscuous fornication*.

those, who have been instructed in our doctrines, are illuminated.

Accordingly, about the year 107, and consequently within seven years after the death of St. John, we find Ignatius of Antioch using an expression, which obviously involves the then actual existence of the Mysteries. He styles the Ephesians, *Fellow-Mystæ with St. Paul*¹. But the technical term *Mysta* was confined to those, who had partaken of what was conventionally denominated *Illumination*. The use of the *term*, therefore, imports the *existence* of those Mysteries, which themselves gave rise to the term.

4. Thus, on the whole, even if the testimony of Ignatius be rejected as not sufficiently distinct, we may still safely conclude : that the Mysteries were at least as ancient as the conversion of Justin Martyr, which occurred about the year 130, and which therefore followed the death of St. John by an interval of only about thirty years.

II. The very high antiquity of the Mysteries having been now established, our next business is to ascertain *the grand and preëminent secret which they professed to reveal.*

For the more satisfactory development of this matter, I shall commence my inquiries somewhat later than the first Council of Nice, and then

¹ Παύλου συμμύσται τοῦ ἁγιασμένου. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. § xii. Patr. Apost. Cotel. vol. ii. p. 14.

gradually work my way back as high as I can reach.

1. The secret of the Christian Mysteries, though so much is said about it by the early ecclesiastical writers, was, in truth, rather *nominal*, than *real*. With the primitive believers, the term MYSTERIES by no means imported : that *certain recondite doctrines were confided exclusively to a few master-minds, while the vulgar bulk of the Society were systematically kept in a state of profound ignorance respecting them*. On the contrary, the peculiar tenets, set forth through the medium of the secret discipline, were unreservedly communicated to *every* individual who was admitted to the rite of Baptism¹. Hence, when the interest of religion required it, the initiated scrupled not to declare

¹ The notion, that *The Apostles had delivered a secret system of Theology traditionally confined to one peculiar class of Epopts*, was indeed early started by certain of the gnosticising heretics ; but was promptly condemned, both as unknown to the Catholic Church in any one of its various successions, and as characteristic of a departure from genuine primitive verity.

Traditionem itaque Apostolorum, in toto mundo manifestatam, in Ecclesia adest perspicere omnibus qui vera velint audire : et habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil docuerunt neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur. Etenim, *si recondita mysteria scissent Apostoli, quæ SEORSIM et LATENTER ab reliquis PERFECTOS docebant ; his vel maximè traderent ea, quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant*. Iren. adv. hæres. lib. iii. c. 3. p. 170.

their arcanum to the very Pagans themselves. Thus Justin in his first Apology, and Athenagoras in his Legation, though both these compositions are addressed to the Roman Emperors, unreservedly propound that identical doctrine, which, so far as ecclesiastical discipline was concerned, we shall presently find to have been the grand and palmary secret of the Mysteries ¹. Such being the case, it is small wonder, that, in the fourth century, this secret, under the precise aspect of *the secret of the Christian Mysteries*, should have been known to the Pagans.

Among the Works of Lucian is usually printed a very curious Dialogue, entitled *Philopatris*. Its author is unknown : but, in regard to the time of its composition, Gesner seems to have proved, so far as matters of that kind *can* be proved, that it was written during the reign of the Emperor Julian ².

In this Dialogue, the speakers are Triephon and Critias : the former, a Christian ; the latter, a Pagan. Critias, playing the buffoon, amuses himself with assuming the character of a Catechumen ; and, in that mock capacity, solicits instruction from Triephon : while the wretched humour of the piece consists in the circumstance of the *simulated* Catechumen's *real* Paganism, perpetually,

¹ See above, book i. chap. 5. § x. xiv.

² See Gesner. Disput. de ætat. et auctor. Philopatr. in Oper. Lucian. ad calc. vol. iii. Reitz. Amstel. 1743.

and as it were unguardedly, betraying itself. Critias, at length, swears by Jupiter : and this is the moment, which Triephton is made to select for the purpose of initiating him into the grand secret of the Christian Mysteries.

THE LOFTY, THE GREAT, THE IMMORTAL, THE CELESTIAL, GOD : THE SON OF THE FATHER ; THE SPIRIT PROCEEDING FROM THE FATHER : ONE FROM THREE, AND THREE FROM ONE : DEEM THESE THINGS JOVE ; RECKON THIS TO BE GOD ¹.

From the present remarkable passage it is evident, that the palmary secret of the Mysteries was THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY : a doctrine, viewed, however, as subincluding those various dependent doctrines, which constitute the leading peculiarities of Christianity, and which were esteemed the sub-

¹ Ὑψιμέδοντα Θεὸν, μέγαν, ἄμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα· Υἱὸν Πατρὸς· Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· ἓν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία· ταῦτα νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ Θεόν. Philopatr. c. xi. in Oper. Lucian. vol. iii.

To this enunciation of the secret of the Christian Mysteries, Critias is made to reply as follows.

Ἀριθμέειν με διδάσκεις, καὶ ὄρκος ἡ ἀριθμητική· καὶ γὰρ ἀριθμέεις ὡς Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασηνός. Οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τί λέγεις. ἘΝ, ΤΡΙΑ· ΤΡΙΑ, ἘΝ. Μὴ τὴν τετρακτὺν φῆς τὴν Πυθαγόρου, ἢ τὴν ὀγδοάδα καὶ τριακάδα ;

Thou art teaching me arithmetic : thy oath is purely arithmetical. Verily, in the science of numeration, thou rivallest Nicomachus the Gerasenian. I know not what thou art saying. ONE, THREE : THREE, ONE ! Certainly, thou art dealing with the Tetractys or the Ogdoad or the Triad of Pythagoras.

ordinate secrets of the system. Accordingly, we shall find, that the unanimous testimony of christian writers perfectly accords with that of the pagan author of the *Philopatris* ¹.

2. Cyril of Jerusalem, who flourished in the course of the same fourth century, has left behind him a series of Catechetical Lectures, in which he professes to reveal to those, who are about to be illuminated, the secret doctrine of the Mysteries.

Now, if we read these Lectures, we shall perceive, that they contain a statement of the peculiarities of Christianity, all ultimately resting upon the preëminent secret of THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY : and, that this doctrine is to be viewed as the common centre of the whole circle of revealed religion or (in other words) as the palmary secret of the Mysteries, he himself, in the course of his Lectures, plainly informs us.

To hear the Gospel, indeed, is permitted to all : but THE GLORY OF THE GOSPEL is set apart for Christ's genuine disciples only. The Lord spake in parables to those, who were able indeed to hear : but, to the disciples, he privately explained the parables. THE SPLENDOUR OF THE GLORY belongs to the Illu-

¹ The very name of the christian Triephton seems, by the pagan buffoon, to have been designedly borrowed from the palmary secret of the Mysteries. *Triephton* or *Triephontes*, the title by which the christian hierophant is designated, is, in point of import, equivalent to *The Priest of the Trinity*.

minated: the blinding belongs to unbelievers. These MYSTERIES the Church communicates to him, who is quitting the class of the Catechumens. For it is not customary to reveal them to the Heathens: nor do we propound to a Heathen the MYSTERIES concerning THE FATHER AND THE SON AND THE HOLY GHOST. Neither yet do we openly speak concerning them to the Catechumens: but we often speak many things covertly; in order that the faithful who know them may understand us, and in order that the Catechumens who are ignorant of them may not be injured¹.

The Mysteries, we see, are generally characterised as propounding THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY. This doctrine, therefore, in all its various connections, described as being the hidden GLORY OF THE GOSPEL or the hidden SPLENDOUR OF THE GLORY, is evidently the secret of the Christian Mysteries.

3. A similar course of Catechetical Lectures, addressed to the candidates for Baptism, and there-

¹ Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, πᾶσιν ἐφίεται· ἡ δόξα δὲ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, τοῖς Χριστοῦ μόνοις γνησίοις, ἀφώριστα· Ἐλεγεν ὁ Κύριος, τοῖς μὲν ἀκοῦσαι δυναμένοις, ἐν παραβολαῖς. τοῖς δὲ μαθηταῖς ἐπέλυε κατ' ἰδίαν τὰς παραβολάς. Ὁ αὐγασμὸς τῆς δόξης, τοῖς πεφωτισμένοις· ἡ τύφλωσις, τοῖς ἀπίστοις· Ταῦτα τὰ μυστήρια νῦν ἡ ἐκκλησία διηγεῖται τῷ ἐκ κατηχομένων μεταβαλλομένῳ. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθος ἐθνικοῖς διηγεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐθνικῶς τὰ περὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος διηγούμεθα μυστήρια. Οὐδὲ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐπὶ κατηχομένων λευκῶς λαλοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ πολλάκις λέγομεν ἐπικεκαλυμμένως, ἵνα οἱ εἰδότες πιστοὶ νοήσωσι· καὶ οἱ μὴ εἰδότες μὴ βλαβῶσι. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. vi. p. 69.

fore professing to reveal the secret of the Mysteries, has been preserved among the writings of Augustine. The Work is comprised in four books : and, like the kindred Catecheses of Cyril, it is wholly occupied in developing THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY with the subordinate doctrines dependent upon it. At the close of an elaborate discussion of this precise topic, the author thus briefly states the grand secret of the Illuminated.

*This, therefore, is the Catholic Faith : to believe in GOD THE FATHER ; omnipotent, immortal, and invisible : to believe in GOD THE SON ; omnipotent, immortal, and invisible, according to his divine nativity, but visible, mortal, and made less than the angels, according to his assumed humanity : to believe in THE HOLY GHOST ; omnipotent, immortal, and invisible, according to his equal divinity, but apparent in the shape of a dove, for the sake of bearing testimony to the Son. And this is THE TRINITY, SIMPLE UNITY, inseparable, ineffable, alway permanent, alway present, every where regnant, ONE GOD*¹.

¹ Fides itaque catholica hæc est : Omnipotentem, immortalem, atque invisibilem, credere Deum Patrem : omnipotentem, immortalem, atque invisibilem, credere Deum Filium, secundum divinam nativitatem ; visibilem autem, mortalem, minoremque angelis factum, secundum susceptam humanitatem : omnipotentem, immortalem, atque invisibilem, credere Spiritum Sanctum, secundum æqualem divinitatem ; visum autem in specie columbæ propter Filii attestationem. Et hæc est Trinitas, simplex Unitas, inseparabilis, inenarrabilis, semper manens, semper præsens, ubique regnans, unus Deus. August. de

4. The result, to which we have been brought by Cyril and Augustine and the author of the *Philopatris*, is confirmed by the positive attestation of Jerome, who also flourished in the course of the same fourth century.

That eminent Father, when mentioning the ancient practice of revealing the Mysteries to the *Competentes*, during the course of the forty days which immediately preceded their baptism at Easter, is so absorbed by the idea of the *palmary* secret, that he notices that secret *alone*, as if it were even *exclusively* the subject of the arcane discipline.

We have a custom of publicly delivering to those who are about to be baptised, during the forty days which precede their baptism, the doctrine of THE HOLY AND ADORABLE TRINITY ¹.

During Lent, a complete system of Theology was delivered to the *Competentes*: yet the whole of this system rested so entirely upon the fundamental doctrine of the Trinity, that Jerome speaks, as if that grand mystery were even the *exclusive* topic of the preparatory Lectures.

5. Similar also is the testimony borne by yet

Symbol. ad Catech. lib. ii. c. 4. Oper. vol. ix. p. 262. Vide etiam Ibid. lib. iii. c. 9. p. 269. lib. iv. c. 9. p. 272.

¹ Consuetudo autem apud nos istiusmodi est, ut iis, qui baptizandi sunt, per quadraginta dies publicè tradamus sanctam et adorandam Trinitatem. Hieron. ad Pammach. Epist. lxi. c. 4. Oper. vol. ii. p. 180.

another writer of the fourth century, the great Ambrose of Milan.

The time now admonishes me to speak concerning THE MYSTERIES.—Unless a person shall have been baptised in the name of THE FATHER AND THE SON AND THE HOLY GHOST, he cannot receive remission of sins.—But thou hast been baptised in the name of THE TRINITY : remember, then, what thou hast done. Thou hast confessed THE FATHER : thou hast confessed THE SON : thou hast confessed THE HOLY GHOST.—Thou hast descended into the laver : remember, what thou hast answered : that thou believest in THE FATHER ; that thou believest in THE SON ; that thou believest in THE HOLY GHOST. Thy confession was not : I believe in the greater and in the less and in the last. But, by the very pledge of thy voice, thou art constrained, to believe in THE SON as thou believest in THE FATHER, to believe in THE HOLY GHOST as thou believest in THE SON ; this only excepted, that thou confessest thyself bound to believe in the cross of the alone Lord Jesus ¹.

¹ Nunc de Mysteriis dicere tempus admonet.—Nisi baptizatus fuerit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti, remissionem non potest accipere peccatorum.—Tu autem baptizatus es in nomine Trinitatis : confessus es Patrem ; recordare quid feceris : confessus es Filium : confessus es Spiritum Sanctum.—Descendisti igitur : recordare quid responderis ; quod credas in Patrem, credas in Filium, credas in Spiritum Sanctum. Non habes illic : Credo in majorem et minorem et ultimum. Sed, eadem vocis tuæ cautione constringeris, ut similiter credas in Filium sicut in Patrem credis, similiter in Spiritum Sanctum

6. To the same purpose is the attestation of the Fathers of the Council of Antioch ; which, in the year 269, sat to condemn the humanitarian heresy of Paul of Samosata : though, of course, their subject led them to mention only that part of the grand secret which respected the godhead and incarnation of the second person of the Trinity.

In their synodical epistle, as preserved by Eusebius, they state, that Paul, in rejecting the divinity of Christ, denied *his own Lord and GOD*¹: and then, afterward, they remark, that, by so doing, *he had abjured THE MYSTERY and had joined himself to the impious heresy of Artemas*².

If, by renouncing the doctrine of Christ's godhead, Paul abjured the secret of the Mysteries, which had been communicated to him immediately before his baptism : it is obvious, that that secret must have been the fundamental doctrine of the Trinity, upon which the doctrine of Christ's godhead immediately depends.

credas sicut credis in Filium ; hoc solo excepto, quod in crucem solius Domini Jesu fateris tibi esse credendum. Ambros. de iis qui myster. initiant. c. i, iv, v. Oper. col. 1229, 1231, 1232.

¹ Τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Κύριον. Epist. Episc. Antioch. Concil. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 30.

² Τὸν ἐξορχησάμενον τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ ἐμπομπεύοντα τῇ μαρᾷ αἰρέσει τῇ Ἀρτεμᾷ. Epist. Episc. Antioch. Concil. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 30.

7. Similar language is held by Dionysius of Alexandria, who flourished about the year 260 : for, according to this ancient Prelate, the secret of the Mysteries, as declared by the grand mystagogue St. Paul, is the doctrine of the Trinity running into the doctrine of the incarnation.

*To us the Father has manifested Christ, who with him exists eternally, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. Hear, how the holy Apostle Paul declares THE MYSTERY : namely, that THE FATHER AND THE SPIRIT DWELL BODILY IN THE CHRIST. When Christ THE WORD became flesh, THE FATHER was not separated from him who became flesh, because the Christ became a body. The Word became flesh : and he shews, that CHRIST, BY BECOMING FLESH, IS NOT TURNED FROM WHAT HE WAS BEFORE, BEING EVER CÖETERNAL WITH HIM WHO BEGAT HIM. In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily*¹.

8. The same account of the matter is given also by Clement of Alexandria, who lived about the year 194.

¹ Ὁ Πατήρ ἐφάνέρωσεν ἡμῖν τὸν ὄντα σὺν αὐτῷ αἰὲν Χριστὸν, ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς. Ἀκούετε, πῶς λέγει τὸ μυστήριον ὁ ἱερὸς ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, τὸ γὰρ σωματικῶς κατοικεῖν τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ. Ἐπειδὴ σὰρξ γέγονεν ὁ Λόγος ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐ παρὰ τὸ γενέσθαι οὖν σῶμα τὸν Χριστὸν, οὐκ ἐπανεστῆ ὁ Πατήρ τοῦ χωρισθῆναι τῷ γενομένῳ σαρκί. Σὰρξ ὁ Λόγος γέγονε· καὶ δείκνυσιν, ὅτι ἄτρεπτος ὁ Χριστὸς γενόμενος σὰρξ, αἰὲν συναΐδιος ὦν τοῦ γεννήσαντος. Ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς. Dionys. Alex. adv. Paul. Samosat. quæst. vii. Oper. p. 259.

(1.) Let us first note his *general* assertion, that the secret, communicated to the *Competentes* preparatory to their baptism, was a full knowledge of the Divine Nature or Essence or Substance.

We have been ILLUMINATED: but this is TO KNOW GOD.—Being baptised, we are illuminated: being illuminated, we are made sons: being made sons, we are perfected: being perfected, we become immortal.—But this matter is called by various names: and, among the rest, it is called ILLUMINATION, as being that through which that holy saving light is distinctly beheld; that is to say, THROUGH WHICH WE CLEARLY BEHOLD THE DEITY.—We who are baptised, having through the Divine Spirit put away like a thick fog our darkening sins, have the mind's eye free and unshackled and full of light: by which alone WE BEHOLD THE GODHEAD, the Holy Spirit flowing into us from heaven. This is the eternal temperament of lustre, WHICH IS ABLE TO BEHOLD THE ETERNAL LIGHT ¹.

¹ Ἐφωτίσθημεν γάρ· τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπιγινῶναι τὸν Θεόν.—Βαπτίζόμενοι, φωτιζόμεθα· φωτιζόμενοι, υἱοποιούμεθα· υἱοποιούμενοι, τελειούμεθα· τελούμενοι, ἀπαθανατιζόμεθα.—Καλεῖται δὲ πολλαχῶς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο· χάρισμα, καὶ φῶτισμα, καὶ τέλειον, καὶ λουτρόν.—Φῶτισμα δὲ δι' οὗ τὸ ἅγιον ἐκεῖνο φῶς σωτήριον ἐποπτεύεται, τοῦτο ἐστὶν, δι' οὗ τὸ Θεῖον ὁξυωπούμεν.—Οἱ βαπτίζόμενοι, τὰς ἐπισκοτούσας ἁμαρτίας τῷ θεῷ Πνεύματι ἀχλὺς δίκην ἀποτριψάμενοι, ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστον καὶ φωτεινὸν ὄμμα τοῦ πνεύματος ἴσχομεν· ᾧ δὴ μόνῳ τὸ Θεῖον ἐποπτεύομεν, οὐρανόθεν ἐπεισρέοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος. Κρᾶμα τοῦτο αὐγῆς αἰδίου, τὸ Ἀἰδίου Φῶς ἰδεῖν δυναμένης. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i. c. 6. Oper. p. 92—94.

It is shewn, what those things are, which are in THE MYSTERY. Well, therefore, did Plato in his Epistles remark concerning GOD, that We ought to speak of HIM in ENIGMAS : so that, if a book on the subject should be found either by sea or by land, he, who might read it, should not understand it.—If, then, by the Apostle, milk is said to be the nourishment of infants, and meat the nourishment of the perfect : catechising, as being the first nourishment of the soul, will be milk ; and THE FULL DISTINCT INSPECTION will be meat. But these are the flesh and blood of the Word: that is to say, THEY ARE THE COMPLETE COMPREHENSION OF THE DIVINE POWER AND SUBSTANCE ¹.

(2.) Let us next observe, how, after teaching us *generally* that the secret of the Mysteries is the distinct knowledge of the Deity, he further teaches us more *particularly*, that that distinct knowledge

The several words in this passage, ἐφωτίσθημεν and τελειούμεθα and φῶτισμα and ἐποπτεύομεν and φῶς, are all technical expressions used in the Mysteries.

¹ Καὶ τὸ, τίνα ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ ἐν μυστηρίῳ, δείκνυνται. Εἰκότως τοίνυν καὶ Πλάτων, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς περὶ Θεοῦ διαλαμβάνων, Φραστέον δὴ σοι, φησὶ, δι' αἰνίγματος, ἔν', ἣν τι δέλτος ἢ πόντου ἢ γῆς ἐν πτυχαῖς πάθῃ, ὁ ἀναγνοὺς μὴ γνῶ.—Εἰ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν γάλα, τῶν νηπίων· τὸ βρῶμα δὲ, τῶν τελείων, τροφή πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἴρηται· γάλα μὲν ἢ κατήχησις, οἷον εἰ πρώτη ψυχῆς τροφή, νοηθήσεται· βρῶμα δὲ, ἢ ἐποπτικὴ θεωρία. Σαρκεὺς αὐταὶ καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Λόγου, τουτέστι, κατάληψις τῆς Θείας Δυνάμεως καὶ Οὐσίας. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. Oper. p. 579.

Here again, the phrase, ἢ ἐποπτικὴ θεωρία, is strictly technical.

is the communication of the doctrine of the Trinity united with that of Christ's godhead and incarnation.

O MYSTIC WONDER ! ONE IS THE FATHER OF THE UNIVERSE : ONE IS THE WORD OF THE UNIVERSE : ONE ALSO IS THE HOLY GHOST, AND THAT SAME EVERY WHERE ¹.

The most perfect and the most holy and the most lordly and the most sovereign and the most royal and the most beneficent is the nature of THE SON, which is the most closely adherent to THE ALONE OMNIPOTENT. —For THE SON OF GOD never departs from his own place of speculation: not being divided, not being absconded, not passing from place to place, but being every where always, and being no where comprehended ; altogether Mind, altogether THE LIGHT OF THE FATHER, altogether the Eye ; beholding all things, hearing all things, knowing all things, searching out powers by power. To him the whole army of angels and of gods is subjected, even to THE PATERNAL WORD who undertook the holy dispensation on account of him who subjected him.—THIS IS THE MASTER, WHO INSTRUCTS THE ADEPT IN THE MYSTERIES.—For ignorance reaches not unto THE GOD WHO BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD WAS THE FELLOW-COUNSELLOR OF THE FATHER : for this

¹ Ὁ θαύματος μυστικοῦ· Εἷς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὅλων Πατήρ· εἷς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ὅλων Λόγος· καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἐν, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i. c. 6. Oper. p. 102.

is THE WISDOM, in which THE OMNIPOTENT GOD rejoiced. *The Son is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God, as being THE MOST ANCIENT WORD OF THE FATHER BEFORE ALL THINGS THAT WERE CREATED. Wherefore also he may justly be called THE TEACHER OF HIS CREATURES* ¹.

When one certain person DECLARES, while the others sit as AUDITORS; that THE SON OF GOD, WHO CREATED THE UNIVERSE, TOOK FLESH UPON HIM AND WAS CONCEIVED IN THE WOMB OF A VIRGIN: to those who know not, the whole economy, which is foretold respecting the Lord, seems truly an absolute parable ².

¹ Τελειοτάτη δὴ, καὶ ἀγιωτάτη, καὶ κυριωτάτη, καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτη, καὶ βασιλικωτάτη, καὶ εὐεργετικωτάτη, ἡ Υἱοῦ φύσις, ἡ τῷ μόνῳ Παντοκράτορι προσεχεστάτη.—Οὐ γὰρ ἐξίσταται ποτε τῆς αὐτοῦ περιωπῆς ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ· οὐ μεριζόμενος, οὐκ ἀποτεμνόμενος, οὐ μεταβαίνων ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, πάντα δὲ ὦν πάντοτε, καὶ μηδαμῇ περιεχόμενος, ὅλος νοῦς, ὅλος φῶς πατρῷον, ὅλος ὀφθαλμός, πάντα ὁρῶν, πάντα ἀκούων, εἰδὼς πάντα, δυνάμει τὰς δυνάμεις ἐρευνῶν. Τούτῳ πᾶσα ὑποτέτακται στρατιὰ ἀγγέλων τε καὶ θεῶν, τῷ Λόγῳ τῷ πατρικῷ τὴν ἀγίαν οἰκονομίαν ἀναδεδεγμένῳ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα.—Ὁ διδάσκαλος οὗτος ὁ παιδεύων μυστηρίοις μὲν τὸν γνωστικόν.—Ἄγνοια μὲν οὐχ ἄπτεται τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου συμβούλου γενομένου τοῦ Πατρός· αὕτη γὰρ ἦν Σοφία, ἣ προσέχαιρεν ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεός. Δύναμις γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Υἱὸς, ἅτε πρὸ πάντων τῶν γενομένων ἀρχικώτατος Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Σοφία αὐτοῦ. Κυρίως ἂν καὶ διδάσκαλος λεχθείη τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ πλασθέντων. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. Oper. p. 702, 703.

² Ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἡ οἰκονομία πᾶσα, ἡ περὶ τὸν Κύριον προφητευθεῖσα, παραβολὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς φαίνεται τοῖς μὴ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐγνω-

9. To the same secret, and precisely in the same manner with Dionysius of Alexandria whom in technical phraseology we have seen exhibiting St. Paul as the declarer of the Mystery, alludes Irenæus, the scholar of Polycarp the disciple of St. John, who wrote in the year 175, but who was born in the year 97.

This is THE CHRIST THE SON OF GOD. Such is THE MYSTERY, which Paul declares to have been manifested to him by revelation : namely, that HE, WHO SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE, IS THE LORD AND KING AND GOD AND JUDGE OF ALL, RECEIVING POWER FROM HIM WHO IS GOD OF ALL, SINCE HE BECAME SUBJECT UNTO DEATH, EVEN THE DEATH OF THE CROSS ¹.

10. To these testimonies I may add that of the ancient author of the Epistle to Diognetus : whether he were Justin Martyr himself, or whether (according to his own descriptive statement of his

κόσιν, ὅταν τις Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ τὰ πάντα πεποιηκότος, σάρκα ἀνελήφота, καὶ ἐν μήτρᾳ παρθένου κυοφορηθέντα,—ὁ μὲν λέγει, οἱ δὲ ἀκούουσιν. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi. Oper. p. 677.

The term, ἀκούουσιν, is technical. As we have seen above, the Catechumens were styled *Auditors*.

¹ Hic est Christus Filius Dei. Hoc est mysterium, quod dicit per revelationem manifestatum sibi : quoniam, qui passus est sub Pontio Pilato, hic Dominus est omnium et Rex et Deus et Judex, ab eo, qui est omnium Deus, accipiens potestatem, quoniam subjectus factus est usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 12. § 3. p. 193.

character) he were some apostolical man a contemporary of Justin Martyr.

In the course of a very long and a very fine passage, while this writer styles the christian worship of God THE MYSTERY *which man can never discover*¹: he teaches us, when largely treating of the nature and offices of Christ, that THE WORD, THOUGH TODAY CALLED A SON, EXISTED NEVERTHELESS ETERNALLY².

Such was the doctrine, communicated from the beginning to every Catechumen before he was admitted to the sacrament of Baptism: such was the doctrine, which, in the Symbol of the Trinity, he professed at the laver of illumination: such was the doctrine, which formed the basis of that Liturgy in the recital of which he ever afterward joined with the whole body of the faithful.

¹ Τὸ δὲ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν θεοσεβείας μυστήριον μὴ προσδοκῆσης δύνασθαι παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μαθεῖν. Epist. ad Diognet. in Oper. Justin. Mart. p. 383.

² Οὗτος, ὁ αἰὲ, σήμερον υἱὸς λογισθείς. Epist. ad Diogn. in Oper. Justin. p. 387.

CHAPTER IX.

RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY AFFORDED TO THE FACT
OF THE POSITIVE ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF
THE TRINITY, BY THE UNANIMOUS PRIMITIVE IN-
TERPRETATION OF THOSE TEXTS, THE TRUE IMPORT
OF WHICH IS NOW LITIGATED BETWEEN MODERN
TRINITARIANS AND MODERN ANTITRINITARIANS.

To the testimonies which have already been brought forward, I may here, in confirmation, be allowed to add a circumstance, which, in point of evidence, well deserves the serious notice of the really honest inquirer.

I. In Holy Scripture, as we all know, there are various remarkable texts : from which, in what he deems their plain and natural acceptation, the Catholic deduces the doctrines of the Trinity and of Christ's godhead.

II. To nullify the force of these texts, the Unipersonalist puts upon them an interpretation which brings out no such result as the interpretation adopted by the Catholic : and thence he contends ; that, for the doctrines in question, we have no warrant from Holy Scripture.

III. Now the point, with which I am at present concerned, is not the congruity or incongruity of *either* system of interpretation : my sole business is with FACTS WHICH RESPECT EVIDENCE.

If the primitive Church, up to the apostolic age, were antitrinitarian ; the system of scriptural interpretation, uniformly adopted by the Fathers of that Church, must plainly have been antitrinitarian likewise : and, conversely, if the primitive Church, up to the apostolic age, were trinitarian ; the system of scriptural interpretation, uniformly adopted by the Fathers of that Church, must also have been trinitarian.

IV. The ground of this statement is so obvious, that it needs scarcely to be pointed out.

A Church collectively cannot hold *one* set of doctrines ; while all the leading teachers and writers and divines and bishops, in direct and full communion with it, openly and avowedly, maintain quite *another* set of doctrines. From the accredited ecclesiastics of a Church we may always know the peculiar tenets of the Church to which they belong : and, while we possess the writings of Bull and of Horsley on the one hand and of Lindsey and of Priestley on the other hand ; it would be no less absurd, to assert the Antitrinitarianism of the Church in which the two former presided, than to assert the Trinitarianism of the congregations in which the two latter ministered. The very secession indeed of Mr. Lindsey from

the communion of the Church of England, on the avowed score of irreconcilable difference in respect to doctrine, would, in itself, plainly determine the theological character both of the Society which he quitted and of the Society which he joined.

V. On this perfectly intelligible principle, it is clear: that the *unanimous* system of exposition adopted by the Fathers of the three first centuries, if indeed they shall be found to have adopted any system of exposition *unanimously*, will in itself be evidence, as to what system of exposition was familiarly received in the Church of the three first centuries under the aspect of setting forth the undoubted mind of Holy Scripture.

For, though the *insulated* exposition of an *insulated* writer might justly be deemed nothing more than the unauthoritative specification of his own private judgment: it is morally impossible, that *all* the writers of a Church should be *unanimous* in their system of scriptural interpretation, remaining all the while in full and uncensured communion with that Church; if, in point of systematic scriptural interpretation, the Church itself collectively differed from them utterly and radically and essentially.

VI. In regard, then, to those Fathers of the three first centuries, who were always deemed the very lights of that Catholic Church, to which they belonged, and in which they ministered or

presided, and of which they were the accredited defenders and instructors : in regard to these primitive ecclesiastics, how stands the matter in question ?

1. So far as my own reading and observation extend, they *invariably* and *unanimously* interpret the texts now litigated between Trinitarians and Antitrinitarians, not after the mode recommended by the latter, but precisely after the mode adopted by the former.

In *no one* instance, which, in the course of a tolerably wide investigation, I have been able to discover, do they *ever* interpret even a *single* text, so as to bring out the result : that *That text does NOT teach the doctrine of the Trinity or the doctrine of Christ's godhead.*

With respect to their expositions, they are at once *unanimous among themselves* and *perfectly accordant with modern Catholics.*

If, among the Fathers of the three first centuries, there *be* an exception : I can only say, that I have inadvertently overlooked it. To this general rule, I myself, at least, am unable to produce a single exception.

2. My accuracy, however, in laying down my general rule, I strongly infer from the ominously profound silence of Dr. Priestley.

That indefatigable author has written two large Histories, for the express purpose of shewing : that *Trinitarianism, as involving the dependent doc-*

trine of Christ's godhead, is the grand and palmary corruption of primitive Christianity.

Now, in the prosecution of such a plan, nothing surely could be more obvious to the writer and more satisfactory to the reader, than, by the direct adduction of passages, to shew: that *The early Bishops and Doctors of the original Catholic Church, quite up to the time of the Apostles themselves, INVARIABLY and UNANIMOUSLY understood and expounded the scriptural texts, now litigated between Catholics and Unipersonalists, precisely in the same manner and precisely on the same doctrinal principle, as Unipersonalists still continue to expound them after the laudable example of the uncorrupted ancients.*

No attempt of this kind, however, has been made by that painful historian.

He roundly asserts, indeed: that the texts in question were read by the primitive Christians, WITHOUT suggesting any such notions of the divinity or the preëxistence of Christ as are NOW supposed to be clearly contained in them¹. But, so far as I recollect, he substantiates not his assertion, by the adduction even so much as of a *single* instance, in which *one* of those texts is, by an ancient of the three first centuries, understood and interpreted, after the manner and on the principle in which it is understood and interpreted by himself and his modern associates.

¹ Priestley's Letters to Bp. Horsley, part ii. pref. Works, vol. xviii. p. 148.

3. Having perused the writings of the Antenicene Fathers pretty extensively and in most cases universally, I think I can account for the remarkable silence of Dr. Priestley, where silence on *his* part, as a *professed historian*, was peculiarly unbecoming.

As *I myself* have never been able to find a litigated text, interpreted by one of those ancient theologians, as Dr. Priestley and his friends would interpret it: so the researches of *the historian*, to that same effect, were, I incline to believe, not more successful than my own.

The ancients, in short, of the three first centuries, within which period (Dr. Priestley himself being judge) lie the true materials of historic testimony, INVARIABLY and UNANIMOUSLY, unless I altogether mistake, understand and expound the litigated texts, not in the manner recommended by modern Unipersonalists, but precisely in the manner still from their predecessors adopted by modern Catholics¹.

VII. So far as I can figure to my imagination, the only mode, in which a modern Antitrinitarian can even *attempt* to escape from this difficulty, is the following.

He may urge: that, although, from the interested management of a corrupt Church, the inter-

¹ For a full substantiation of this statement, by an adduction of the actual expositions themselves, see below, append. i. numb. 1.

pretations of the early Humanitarians have not come down to us, we may, from the very character of their doctrine, be morally certain; that they *must* have understood the litigated texts much in the same manner as they are *now* understood by modern Humanitarians: for, *without* such a view of the texts in question, their scheme of doctrine could never have been adopted, in those primitive times, as exhibiting the real mind of Christianity.

Lest, peradventure, this mode of escape should be attempted: I shall, by anticipation, expose its hopeless insufficiency.

1. Instead of the litigated texts being read by these religionists, *WITHOUT suggesting to them any such notions of the divinity or the preëxistence of Christ as are now supposed to be clearly contained in them*, the truth is: that they allowed to those texts no voice whatever in the decision of the question, *Whether Christ was a mere man or whether he is very God mysteriously united to very man*; for they cut the matter short by the compendious process of *utterly rejecting* the whole of St. Paul's writings and all the Gospels save that of St. Matthew or rather what they were pleased to *call* that of St. Matthew¹.

(1.) So incorrigible, indeed, were the Ebionites

¹ Iren. adv. hæer. lib. i. c. 26. p. 81. Hieron. Comment. in Matt. xii. 2. Oper. vol. vi. p. 20. Epiph. adv. hæer. lib. i. tom. ii. hæer. 30.

in their error, and so completely did they proceed upon the plan of *total rejection* rather than on the plan of *perverse misinterpretation*, that they actually disregarded even apostolical authority itself.

According to the testimony of antiquity, St. John wrote his Gospel, later than all the other Gospels, at the desire of the Asiatic Bishops, expressly to condemn their speculation: which he did, by entering more deeply into the doctrine of the divinity of the Saviour ¹.

In despite of St. John, they chose, however, to retain their own opinion: and the consequence was their rejection of the particular Gospel which formally condemned them, as well as the Gospels of St. Luke and St. Mark.

(2.) Not, indeed, that even St. Matthew's Gospel was *favourable* to them: for, as Irèneus well remarks, they might be convicted of entertaining erroneous sentiments, respecting the Lord, even out of that Gospel which they professed to receive ².

To *prevent*, therefore, such conviction, they adopted, as Epiphanius tells us, the Gospel of

¹ Coactus est, ab omnibus pæne tunc Asiæ Episcopis et multarum Ecclesiarum legationibus, de divinitate Salvatoris altius scribere. Hieron. Proœm. in Comment. in Matt. Evan. Oper. vol. vi. in init.

² Ebionæi etenim, eo Evangelio quod est secundum Matthæum solo utentes, ex illo ipso convincuntur non recte præsumentes de Domino. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 11. p. 186.

St. Matthew, in a state not only of *mutilation* but of *corruption* also : omitting, on the one hand, whatever might be hostile to their predetermined speculations ; and adding, on the other hand, whatever might be favourable to them.

Thus, for instance, since the two first chapters of the genuine Gospel of St. Matthew plainly condemned them : they altogether, with the exception of the date which occurs at the beginning of the second chapter, *erased* those two chapters ; and made their gratuitously improved Gospel commence, with a corrupted intermingling of the third and tenth chapters, associated with the date borrowed from the first verse of the rejected second chapter ¹.

¹ The Gospel of St. Matthew, as altered and improved by the Ebionites, commenced, according to the extracts made by Epiphanius, in manner following.

It came to pass, in the days of Herod king of Judæa and of Caiaphas the high-priest, that there came a certain man called John, baptising with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan, who was said to be of the lineage of Aaron the priest, the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth : and all men went out to him.

And there was a certain man called Jesus, about thirty years of age : who chose us, and came into Capernaum, and entered into the house of Simon called Peter. And, passing over the lake of Tiberias, having opened his mouth, he said : I have chosen John and James the sons of Zebedee, and Simon, and Andrew, and Philip, and Bartholomew, and Jude, and Thaddæus, and Thomas, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas Iscariot : and thee, Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom, I have called ; and

2. Now, from this statement, it is obvious : that the texts, *at present* litigated between Trini-

thou hast followed me. You, therefore, I will to be twelve Apostles, for a testimony to Israel.

And John was baptising : and there went out to him the Pharisees and all Jerusalem ; and they were baptised. And John had his raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle round his loins. And his food was wild honey, the taste of which was that of manna, like a watery sweetness in oil.

And, when the people had been baptised, Jesus also came, and was baptised of John. And, when he ascended from the water, the heavens were opened ; and he saw the Spirit of God, in the appearance of a dove, descending and entering into him. And there came a voice from heaven, saying : Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased ; and again, This day I have begotten thee.

And, immediately, a great light shone round the place. Which when John had seen, he saith unto him : Who art thou, Lord ? And again a voice from heaven came unto him : This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.

And John, falling down before him, said : I pray thee, Lord, baptise me. But he hindered him, saying : Let me go ; for thus is it fitting that all things should be fulfilled. Epiph. adv. hæ. lib. i. tom. ii. hæ. 30.

I. On the Gospel thus mutilated and depraved, Epiphanius remarks : *See, how, every where, sound doctrine is adulterated by these Ebionites : see, how, with them, all things are lame and distorted and possessing no rectitude.*

II. Yet, upon the authority of these miserable garblers, whose very production of the date, *In the days of Herod king of Judæa*, taken from the first verse of the second chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, furnishes, against themselves, a distinct proof of their dishonest and interested mutilation : the Editor of *The New Testament in an improved version* rejects, as spurious, the

tarians and Antitrinitarians, came not, in the forming of *their* sentiments respecting the nature of Christ, even so much as within the contemplation of the *early* Humanitarians.

(1.) It was not : that *Such texts, viewed as a*

whole of the two first chapters of that Gospel, save the seventeen opening verses which contain the genealogy.

1. It is true, indeed, that the very early Fathers, Ignatius and Justin and Irenæus and Tertullian, all either cite or refer to the rejected chapters, as an undoubted and universally received part of Holy Writ ; expressly building upon those chapters the doctrine of Christ's godhead and incarnation from the virgin Mary (See below, append. i. numb. 1. texts 5, 6.) : and it is true, that the daring mutilation of the Ebionites was always strenuously reprobated and condemned by the Church Catholic. But the Editor, *as a critic*, quite dissatisfied with these ancient authorities, both greek and latin, both oriental and occidental, rests confidently upon the expurgation of the Ebionites : who, in the manufactory of their pretended Gospel of St. Matthew, erased the whole of the two first chapters of the genuine Gospel, save the date in the first verse of the second chapter ; and then made their apocryphal compilation to commence with the strangely garbled mingle-mangle exhibited above.

2. Had the Editor been *consistent* in his criticism, the same ebionitic authority, which has induced him to describe as spurious the greater part of the two first chapters of St. Matthew, ought also, not only to have guided him in his verbal arrangement of the third chapter, but to have led him to reject, as *likewise* spurious, the entire three Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke and St. John and the whole of the Epistles of St. Paul. So far as *authority* is concerned, the authority in *all* these cases is precisely *the same* ; the authority, to wit, of those early branded mutilators the Ebionites.

portion of the authoritative word of God, were read by them, WITHOUT (as Dr. Priestley speaks) suggesting any such notions of the divinity or the pre-existence of Christ as are NOW supposed to be clearly contained in them. Or, in other words, it was not : that *Their system was founded upon some such interpretation of those texts, as the interpretation current among modern Humanitarians.*

(2.) But it was : that *They rejected the now litigated texts altogether ; and that They received only a single apocryphal Gospel which by mutilation and corruption they had made to harmonise with their own peculiar views, while they discarded the whole canonical New Testament as it has been delivered down to us from the primitive Church Catholic.*

3. Thus, on the whole, these early Humanitarians of the Ebionitic School will, if I mistake not, turn out to be reluctant witnesses for the *trinitarian* exposition of the now litigated texts.

Their retention of their own sentiments respecting the nature of Christ, and a reception of the genuine canonical New Testament in all its several portions, they plainly perceived to be incompatible : for they felt, that the now litigated texts suggested such notions of the divinity and pre-existence of the Saviour, as they were predetermined not to admit.

Hence, in order to rid themselves of the texts, they *rejected*, with a high hand, the books which contained them.

This, however, they would not have done, had the texts suggested to early believers nothing more than what Dr. Priestley *supposes* them to have suggested.

Consequently, their very act of *rejection* is a tacit acknowledgment: that the texts neither *could* nor *did* suggest any other notions, than those of Christ's preëxistence and divinity.

I may now, therefore, repeat: that *The ancients of the three first centuries*, INVARIABLY and UNANIMOUSLY, *understood and expounded the litigated texts, not in the manner recommended by modern Unipersonalists, but in the manner received from their predecessors by modern Catholics.*

VIII. This remarkable concord might, even in itself, establish the position: that *The primitive Church, up to the very time of the Apostles, was invariably trinitarian.* For the primitive Church at large could not have held *one* scheme of theology: while, professedly out of Scripture, its Bishops and Doctors, diligently and openly, unanimously and unreprievedly, inculcated quite *another* scheme.

But the argument acquires a tenfold force, when we consider the strict harmony of the present line of evidence with all the other lines of evidence which have now in review successively passed before us: and that force, so far as I can judge, becomes absolutely irresistible, when we bear in mind, that the present position is established, not merely by a single testimony or by a single class

of testimonies, but by a concurrence of numerous distinct classes of testimonies all vouching for the same fact and all tending to the same purpose.

As, in regard to Scripture, the early Doctors *expounded*: so, in point of fact, without any contradiction on the part of Christians, did the enemies of Christianity *allege*¹; so, from generation to generation, did the primitive Christians *worship*²; so, with one mouth, to be the universally received doctrine of the Church Catholic, did the ancient apologists *profess*³; so, with rare and striking concord, did all the early Creeds or Symbols *propound*⁴; so were all the ancient Liturgies *constructed*⁵; so were all the Catechumens *instituted*⁶.

If the Church of the first ages had been anti-trinitarian, this accordance, in so many different points, could never have existed.

By all the laws of evidence, therefore, the inevitable result from it is: that *The primitive Church, up to the age of the Apostles, held and taught, as vitally essential truths, the doctrines of the Trinity and of the godhead of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

¹ See above, book i. chap. 3.

² See above, book i. chap. 4.

³ See above, book i. chap. 5.

⁴ See above, book i. chap. 6.

⁵ See above, book i. chap. 7.

⁶ See above, book i. chap. 8.

CHAPTER X.

RESPECTING THE ARGUMENT FROM PRESCRIPTION AND UNIVERSALITY.

FULL as it is, my evidence might, nevertheless, be deemed incomplete, if I pretermitted the ancient argument from prescription and universality, urged with such invincible force by Tertullian and Irèneus, and resorted to likewise in connection with their testimony by many of their successors.

*There is no maxim, as Dr. Priestley judiciously remarks, the truth of which is more fully verified by observation and experience, than that great bodies of men do not soon, or without great causes, change their opinions*¹.—*The true doctrine, concerning the person of Christ, must be allowed to have been held by the Apostles. They, no doubt, knew: whether their Master was only a man like themselves, or their Maker. Their immediate disciples would receive and maintain the same doctrine that they held.*

¹ Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 13. Works, vol. vi. p. 473.

*And it must have been some time, before any other could have been introduced and have spread to any extent : and, especially, before it could have become the prevailing opinion*¹.

On this sound and rational principle, is ultimately and effectively built the argument from prescription and universality, which I shall now lay before the serious inquirer.

I. The argument in question is strictly an argument from AN HISTORICAL FACT : which FACT, in the face of those very heretics whom they were controversially opposing, is, by Irenèus and Tertullian, publicly appealed to, as *perfectly notorious* and as *altogether incontrovertible*.

Now the FACT, thus publicly appealed to, *as a FACT incapable of contradiction*, was the following.

About the year 175 when the then aged Irenèus wrote, and about the year 200 when Tertullian flourished ; that is to say, about 75 years, and about 100 years, after the death of St. John, when, through chronological necessity and agreeably to positive attestation, no particular Church *could* have been separated, from the apostolic age, by more than *two* intervening steps of communication : ALL the then existing Churches mutually in communion with each other, though variously deriving their succession from twelve different

¹ Reply to Animadvers. Introd. sect. iv. Works, vol. xviii. p. 23.

Apostles, held precisely the same system of doctrine respecting the nature of the Deity or respecting the mode in which the Deity exists ; and, on this point, their harmony was such, that not a SINGLE Church could be found, which held any other system.

The system of doctrine, thus UNIVERSALLY held by the various Churches which derived their unbroken succession from the Apostles, is given at length, under the character of A PUBLIC RULE OF FAITH, both by Irenèus and by Tertullian : so that we cannot mistake its true nature and character ¹. And this system of doctrine was the system, which, in the present day, is commonly denominated *trinitarian*. That is to say, it was a system : which asserted the existence of the one Deity in three persons ; and which maintained, that the second of these three persons became incarnate and appeared upon earth as the man Christ Jesus.

Such, however, is not the *whole* amount of the FACT publicly appealed to by Irenèus and Tertullian.

During the period which has been specified, ALL the Churches not only agreed in maintaining the system of doctrine usually styled *trinitarian* : but they ALL likewise agreed in yet another very important matter.

¹ The primitive Rule of Faith, as severally delivered by Irenèus and Tertullian, I have already given at large. See above, book i. chap. 6. § v. vi.

While, without a single exception, they ALL concurred in holding that peculiar doctrine, which is briefly denominated *The doctrine of the Trinity*; they ALL, moreover, without a single exception, concurred in declaring: that, *Through one or at the most through two intermediate channels, they had received this doctrine from some one or other of the twelve Apostles, up to whom they severally carried their ecclesiastical succession*; that *The Rule of Faith, which propounded this doctrine, was ultimately derived from Christ himself*; and that, *As it was universal in point of reception, throughout all the provincial Churches in mutual communion with each other, so it was questioned by none save heretics who in parties of scattered individuals had gone out from the great and more ancient body of the Church Catholic*¹.

II. This is THE HISTORICAL FACT, appealed to by Irenæus and Tertullian as *notorious* and *incontrovertible*: and their strict accuracy in asserting it is

¹ See Iren. adv. hæ. lib. i. c. 2. p. 34—36. lib. iii. c. 4. § 2. p. 172. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæ. § 4. Oper. p. 100.

The argument of these two early Fathers, as founded upon the universal reception and the apostolic derivation of the *Rule of Faith*, professedly touches *all* heretics of *every* description who departed from the Rule in question. But, in the *present* application of their argument, *my own* limited subject leads me to consider *only* the speculations of those religionists, who may be briefly designated as *Humanitarian Unipersonalists*, and who may be viewed as the theological descendants of the ancient *Ebionites*.

fully evinced, both by their own competency as witnesses, and by almost every possible combination of parallel evidence.

1. Irenæus, who was born in the year 97, passed his youth in proconsular Asia, where he was a pupil of Polycarp the disciple of St. John : and, in his more mature age, he was Bishop of Lyons in Gaul.

Hence he was *personally*, and not through mere vague *hearsay*, acquainted with the doctrinal system held by the Churches both of the East and of the West : hence he could compare that system which invariably claimed to be derived from the Apostles, with the system, which his master Polycarp had always, through the whole course of his long episcopate, professed to have received immediately from St. John : and hence, in every point of view, his competency, as a well-informed witness, is unimpeachable.

Now this witness, thus circumstanced, vouches for THE FACT : that, *In his time, ALL the Churches not only MAINTAINED the doctrines familiarly styled trinitarian ; but also RIGHTLY maintained them, on the express ground of their APOSTOLICAL DERIVATION.*

2. Our next witness, Tertullian, was born at Carthage, about the middle of the second century : and, after his conversion to Christianity, he long continued to reside in his native country, where he largely and actively entered into all matters ecclesiastical.

Hence, in a similar manner, he was *personally*, not through *hearsay* alone, acquainted with the doctrinal system of the African Churches : hence, from the intercourse which so rapidly and so perpetually prevailed among those who had embraced the Christian Faith, and from his own extensive correspondence and natural inquisitiveness, he well knew, even where his strictly *personal* examination had not been carried, both the character of the system and the character of the claims by which all the other Churches were equally distinguished : and hence *his* evidential competency also, like that of Irenèus, is perfectly unobjectionable.

Now, in regard to THE FACT before us, the testimony of Tertullian exactly corresponds with the testimony of Irenèus.

He assures us : that *ALL the Churches of his time were trinitarian*. And he adds : that *They ALL declared themselves to have received their strictly uniform doctrinal system from some one or other of the Apostles*.

3. The joint assertion of Irenèus and Tertullian is incidentally confirmed, in a very striking manner, by Hegesippus, who, in point of chronology, was the contemporary of Irenèus.

According to the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius, this ancient individual tells us : that, having had an occasion to take a journey from Asia to Rome, he familiarly, in the course of it, mingled with very many Bishops. Such a circumstance

brought him into immediate contact with the Churches both of the East and of the West: and the result was, that, from ALL of them alike, as he assures us on his own *personal* knowledge and experience, he *invariably* received the self-same system of doctrinal theology ¹.

The Church of Corinth, says he, as his own precise words are reported by Eusebius, *was persevering in the right faith down to the episcopate of Primus: for, while I was sailing to Rome, I mingled familiarly with the Corinthians, and spent many days with them; during which, we were jointly comforted by the right faith. But, having arrived at Rome, I completed the episcopal succession down to Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus. And Soter succeeded Anicetus: and Eleutherus succeeded Soter* ².

This interesting account, which Hegesippus gives, of his prolonged abode at Rome and at Corinth *in particular*, he winds up, still in his own

¹ Δηλοῖ, ὡς πλείστοις ἐπισκόποις συμμίξειεν, ἀποδημίαν στελλόμενος μέχρι Ῥώμης· καὶ ὡς ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν παρὰ πάντων παρείληφε διδασκαλίαν. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 22.

² Ἐπέμενεν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ Κορινθίων ἐν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, μέχρι Πρίμου ἐπισκοπεύοντος ἐν Κορίνθῳ· οἷς συνέμιξα πλέων εἰς Ῥώμην, καὶ συνδιέτριψα τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἡμέρας ἱκανάς· ἐν αἷς συνανεπάμην τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ. Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, διαδοχὴν ἐποίησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικήτου, οὗ διάκονος ἦν Ἐλεούθερος. Καὶ παρὰ Ἀνικήτου διαδέχεται Σωτὴρ, μεθ' ὃν Ἐλεούθερος. Hegesipp. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 22.

The journey of Hegesippus and his residence at Rome occurred somewhere in the course of the period. A.D. 153—162.

words, with the following explicit declaration relative to all the visited Churches *in general*.

*Now, in each episcopal succession and in each city, the right faith thus continues, as it is preached both by the Law and by the Prophets and by the Lord himself*¹.

Here, again, we have the complete doctrinal uniformity of the Churches, from East to West, established by the direct testimony of an eye-witness who visited them about the middle of the second century : and, additionally, we observe the same eye-witness declaring, that the system, universally received in the several episcopal cities, claimed to be the precise system, which in accordance with the Law and the Prophets Christ himself had preached, and which his Apostles had harmoniously handed down to their various ecclesiastical successors.

The two matters, then, which Hegesippus attests about the middle of the second century or about some fifty years after the death of St. John, are, THE PERFECT DOCTRINAL UNIFORMITY OF ALL THE CHURCHES, and THE CONSTANTLY ASSERTED DERIVATION OF THIS COMMON DOCTRINAL SYSTEM FROM CHRIST AND HIS APOSTLES.

Hence, to complete the testimony, we have only

¹ Ἐν ἐκάστη δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύττει καὶ οἱ προφήται καὶ ὁ Κύριος. Hegesipp. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 22.

to inquire, what this uniform doctrinal system really was in point of *nature* and *character*.

In those fragments of his writings which have been preserved by Eusebius, the specific *quality* of this system is not expressly stated by Hegesippus : but it is indisputably a system, which receives *his own* entire assent and approbation. He tells us, that the Church of Corinth had persevered in THE RIGHT FAITH down to the episcopate of Primus, when he himself visited it : and he adds, that, during many days, he and the Corinthians were jointly comforted by THIS SAME RIGHT FAITH. But the faith of the Corinthian Church was the faith of all the other symbolising contemporary Churches : and, agreeably to the constant claim of all those Churches, this UNIVERSAL FAITH was, in the estimation of Hegesippus, that RIGHT FAITH which had been preached by the Lord and his Apostles. Hence it is evident : that, if we can distinctly ascertain the faith of Hegesippus, we shall also distinctly ascertain the nature of that RIGHT FAITH which he professed in common with ALL the then-existing Churches.

The requisite information to this precise purpose is furnished by the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius.

He tells us : that Hegesippus was a famous champion for the truth against the heresies of ungodly men ; that, IN DOCTRINE, HE SYMBOLISED WITH IRENEUS AND MELITO ; and that, in the five books of

his Commentaries which were then extant, he set forth the unerring tradition of apostolic preaching and a most full memorial of his own theological sentiments ¹.

Now the theological sentiments of Irenæus and Melito, are, from their yet existing remains, perfectly well known to have been *trinitarian*. But *their* theological sentiments were the theological

¹ "Ομως δ' οὖν κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους αἰθις παρῆγεν ἐς μέσον ἡ ἀλήθεια πλείους ἑαυτῆς ὑπερμάχους, οὐ δὲ ἀγράφων αὐτὸ μόνον ἐλέγχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐγγράφων ἀποδείξεων, κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων αἰρέσεων στρατευομένους. Ἐν τούτοις ἐγνωρίζετο Ἡγήσιππος, οὗ πλείσταις ἤδη προτέρον κεχρήμεθα φωναῖς· ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ παραδόσεως τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους παρατιθέμενοι. Ἐν πέντε δὲ οὖν συγγράμμασιν, οὗτος, τὴν ἀπλανῆ παράδοσιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπλουστάτῃ συντάξει γραφῆς ὑπομνηματισάμενος, καθ' ὃν ἐγνωρίζετο σημαίνει χρόνον. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 7, 8.

"Ηκμαζον δὲ ἐν τούτοις, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Ἡγήσιππος τε ὃν ἴσμεν ἐκ τῶν προτέρων, καὶ Διονύσιος Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος, Πινυτός τε ἄλλος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐπίσκοπος, Φίλιππος τε ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ Ἀπολινάριος, καὶ Μελίτων, Μουσανός τε, καὶ Μόδεστος, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Εἰρηναῖος· ὧν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἡ τῆς ὑγιοῦς πίστεως ἔγγραφος κατῆλθεν ὀρθοδοξία. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 21.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἡγήσιππος, ἐν πέντε τοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔλθοῦσιν ὑπομνήμασι, τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης πληρεστάτην μνήμην καταλέλοιπεν. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 22.

Hegesippus is similarly praised by Sozomen, who associates him as a writer with Clement of Alexandria, jointly bestowing upon the two the appellation of *men most eminent for their wisdom*.

Κλήμης τε καὶ Ἡγήσιππος, ἄνδρες σοφώτατοι, τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχῇ παρακολουθήσαντες, Sozom. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 1.

sentiments of Hegesippus. Therefore, plainly, the theological sentiments of Hegesippus must have been *trinitarian* likewise.

Such being the case, Hegesippus is a witness : who, from his own *personal* knowledge, vouches for the *Trinitarianism* of all the Churches that he visited from East to West ; and who states, that this precise doctrinal system had, in all the Churches, been received from Christ and his Apostles ¹.

4. With the testimony borne by Hegesippus, and with the appeals of Irenèus and Tertullian, every other testimony, which can be collected, will be found to accord.

The FACT, to which Irenèus and Tertullian publicly appeal, and upon which they avowedly build their argument from prescription, is established, as we have already seen at large, by the testimonies both of friends and of enemies, by all the ancient Creeds of the Catholic Church, by every course of Catechetical Lectures delivered to the *Competentes* immediately before their baptism, by the public profession of faith made correspondingly at the baptismal font by every legitimately interrogated individual, and by all the accredited Apologies of the professed defenders of Christians and of Christianity ².

¹ See below, append. i. numb. 2.

² See above, book i. chap. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

5. Finally, the same FACT is negatively established, by the tacit admission of its truth, on the part of the numerous heretics, against whom it was argumentatively produced.

For it is obvious, that, if they *could*, these heretics assuredly *would*, have effectually confuted the argument brought against them, by the very simple process of denying the FACT upon which the argument avowedly reposed. The FACT, however, they deny not. Hence we may be morally certain, that denial on their part was impracticable.

III. The FACT, therefore ; that, *In the days of Irenæus and Tertullian, ALL the Churches in the known world were trinitarian, unanimously asserting their common doctrinal system to have been, in each of their several successions, derived from the twelve Apostles* : this FACT, purely as a fact, is, I think, on every rational principle of evidence, historically indisputable.

Now, from the FACT thus asserted and thus established, Irenæus and Tertullian deduced the following argument against the innovations of heretics.

Without a single exception, said they, ALL the Churches, in every part of the world, though severally deriving their successions from twelve different Apostles, notoriously concur in maintaining, on the plea of well known derivation from those Apostles, the doctrine of the Trinity with the dependent doctrines of Christ's godhead and incarnation.

But, at this early period, said they, for we are now only in the second century, these various Churches cannot be ignorant, either as to what Apostle was at the head of their succession, or as to what doctrine they have received from him through the intervention of no more than one or two descents: for *ignorance*, as to this point, is plainly, in the very nature of things, *morally impossible*.

Therefore the doctrinal system, which, under the professed aspect of *A derivation from their several apostolic fountains*, they thus hold UNIVER-SALLY, must inevitably be the doctrinal system which was harmoniously taught by the twelve Apostles from the very beginning.

IV. Such was the argument employed by Irenèus and Tertullian: but, against it, two objections may possibly be started: the one, that *The doctrine of the Trinity might have been a corruption, though doubtless a very early corruption, of the primitive faith*; the other, that *Many individuals, who flourished even prior either to Irenèus or to Tertullian, rejected that doctrine together with the appended doctrine of Christ's divinity, and yet actually claimed to themselves the praise of having faithfully preserved the original apostolic tradition*.

1. Since we know, it may be objected, that error and heresy *may* creep into the best originally constituted Societies; and since the doctrine of the Trinity, if a corruption of primitive Christianity, *must* have commenced at some time: how can we

be certain, that that doctrine, as held about 70 or 100 years after the death of St. John, was not, however early the period, even *then* a corruption of the pure Gospel as at first delivered by the Apostles?

The answer to this objective question is contained in the well established fact of UNIVERSALITY.

Throughout the known world, ALL the Churches, then in communion with each other, and variously deriving their succession from some one of the twelve Apostles, *agreed* in maintaining the doctrine of the Trinity, on the special ground, that, through one or two intermediate descents, they had severally derived it from the apostolic fountain of their ecclesiastical existence.

Now, though we grant that *actual* corruption *must* have commenced at some time and *may* have commenced very early; whence we admit the abstract possibility, that *this* single Church or *that* single Church might, even within a century after the death of St. John, have grossly perverted primitive verity: yet we assert it to be *morally impossible*; that ALL the Churches, in the known world, while separated from their respective apostolical origins by only one or two descents, should not only have corrupted themselves UNIVERSALLY, but should likewise have corrupted themselves IN THE SELF-SAME MANNER; should not only have corrupted themselves IN THE SELF-SAME MANNER, but should likewise have UNANIMOUSLY concurred in maintain-

ing, that a dogma, which, on the theory of its being a recent corruption, every individual of ripe age must have *known* to be a recent corruption, was nevertheless derived from the primeval teaching of the twelve Apostles.

This, on any known and intelligible principles of human action, we assert to be *morally impossible*.

Had the system of modern Antitrinitarianism been the doctrinal system delivered to the Catholic Church by the Apostolic College, *that* system, agreeably to the excellent canon laid down by Dr. Priestley himself, could not have been *suddenly* and *unanimously* and *uniformly* exchanged for a system of a *directly opposite* description.

From the doctrine of *Christ's mere humanity* to the doctrine of *Christ's incarnate divinity*, and from the doctrine of *The unipersonal existence of God* to the doctrine of *The tripersonal existence of God*, the transition is too great, the gulf is too wide, to be passed *unanimously* and at a *single* bound and in the course of only a *few* revolving years, while yet not a recorded vestige of any such transition should remain.

But, even if this astonishingly rapid transition might, when Irenæus wrote, have occurred in any *one* Church : how, at so early a period, as I have already hinted, can we account for a transition, from the alleged primitive faith of Antitrinitarianism to the alleged gross corruption of Trinita-

rianism, at once SUDDEN and UNIVERSAL and UNANIMOUS and UNIFORM ?

Had *all* the Churches, in the first instance, received from the Apostles the doctrinal system of Antitrinitarianism ; and had any *one* Church, in the course of the first or second descent, exchanged Antitrinitarianism for Trinitarianism, that is to say, had any *one* Church, in the course of the first or second descent ceased to revere God in one person and begun to revere him in three persons, while correspondingly she had ceased to respect Christ as an eminent though a mere man and had begun to worship him with the highest divine honours as the incarnate second person of the Deity : what would, nay what *must*, have been the consequence of such a very remarkable occurrence ?

Doubtless, the yet pure Churches would, with one mouth, have exclaimed against their apostatising sister : or, if *some* had fallen after her ; the *rest* would only have the more vehemently exclaimed : or, if, yet further, a *majority* of the Churches had, at that very early period when the words of the Apostles were still ringing in their ears, apostatised after the evil example of the first culprit ; the deserted *minority*, we may be sure, would have been loud in their expressions of well merited condemnation : or, if a *well-nigh universal* corruption had, in the course of only one or two descents from the soundness of primitive orthodoxy,

most unaccountably and most incredibly taken place; certainly, according to our Lord's own promise that the gates of Hades should never *entirely* prevail against the Communion which he had founded, some *one* solitary Church, *deducing its undeniable origin from an Apostle*, would have been found, a faithful Abdiel, in the midst of this strangely general and strangely uniform and strangely early and strangely rapid aberration.

Yet, as put forth even by a *single* faithful Church of apostolic derivation, no protest, against the general though sudden corruption of the truth by the rapid introduction of Trinitarianism, can, in any part either of secular or of ecclesiastical history, be discovered.

So far as the Church Catholic is concerned, primitive orthodoxy, if Antitrinitarianism be primitive orthodoxy, instantaneously dies, and makes no sign. Vainly shall we search the records of antiquity for a *single* protest made by a *single* branch of the Church Universal.

On the supposition, in short, that *Antitrinitarianism in regard to the Deity and mere Humanitarianism in regard to Christ was the genuine apostolical doctrine*; the FACT, notoriously familiar in the days of Irenæus and Tertullian, and invincibly established by a concurring mass of irresistible evidence, would plainly have been IMPOSSIBLE.

The bare FACT *itself*, therefore, under the very remarkable circumstances of its occurrence, unan-

swerably demonstrates : that *The doctrine of the Trinity, with the dependent doctrines of Christ's godhead and incarnation, MUST have been the doctrine uniformly delivered, to ALL the successions of the Churches, by ALL the twelve Apostles.*

2. But it may be said : that some very early individuals, who flourished even *prior* either to Irenèus or to Tertullian, denied the divinity of Christ, and yet claimed to themselves the praise of having faithfully preserved the primitive apostolic tradition.

This was the *precise* case, which the argument, in the hands of those two primitive ecclesiastics, was constructed to meet.

*All heretics, says Irenèus, are MUCH LATER than the Bishops, to whom the Apostles delivered the Churches*¹.

*Whatever is FIRST, says Tertullian, is true : whatever is LATER, is spurious*².

¹ Omnes enim ii valde posteriores sunt quam episcopi, quibus Apostoli tradiderunt Ecclesias.—Necessitatem ergo habent prædicti hæretici, quoniam sint cæci ad veritatem, alteram et alteram ambulare exorbitantes viam : et, propter hoc, inconsonanter et inconsequenter dispersa sunt vestigia doctrinæ ipsorum. Eorum autem, qui ab Ecclesia sunt, semita circumiens mundum universum, quippe firmam habens ab Apostolis traditionem, et videre nobis donans omnium unam et eandem esse fidem.—Et Ecclesiæ quidem prædicatio vera et firma, apud quam una et eadem salutis via in universo mundo ostenditur. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. v. c. 17. p. 341.

² Id esse verum, quodcumque primum : id esse adulterum,

Of the individuals in question, there was no existing Church or Society : which could derive its origin from an apostolical fountain ; and which could so trace up the succession of its Bishops, as to be able to assert, under the aspect of a notorious fact, that the first Bishop received his commission, either from some one of the Apostles, or from some apostolical man himself consecrated by an Apostle ¹.

On the contrary, these individuals, however they might *subsequently* combine into sects or parties, were, *in the first instance*, mere disconnected indi-

quodcunque posterius. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 1. Oper. p. 405.

¹ Ita ex ipso ordine manifestatur, id esse dominicum et verum, quod sit prius traditum : id autem extraneum et falsum, quod sit posterius immissum. Ea sententia manebit adversus posteriores quasque hæreses, quibus nulla constantia de conscientia competit ad defendendam sibi veritatem. Cæterum, si quæ audent interserere se ætati apostolicæ, ut ideo videantur ab Apostolis traditæ, quia sub Apostolis fuerunt, possumus dicere : *Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum ; evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit autorem et antecessorem.* Hoc enim modo, ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt : sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert ; sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum refert ; proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent, quos, ab Apostolis in episcopatum constitutos, apostolici seminis traduces habeant. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæ. § 11. Oper. p. 107.

viduals. They were universally known, in their individual capacity, to have *quitted* their respective Churches, on the precise ground of *difference of opinion*. They, individually, *rejected* the doctrine taught in the several Churches of which they had been members : and, *therefore*, they left each his own proper Church. In short, they were notoriously, what Irenæus calls, *ABSISTENTS from the primitive succession* : they were individuals, who *fell away from* the truth, and who then in this place or in that place congregated together ¹.

Such, invariably, from the apostolic age itself, was the devious progress of each early heretic.

They WENT OUT from us, as St. John speaks : *but they were not of us. For, if they had been of us, they would have CONTINUED with us. But they WENT OUT, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us* ².

¹ Quapropter eis qui in ecclesia sunt presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, sicut ostendimus, qui cum episcopatûs successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris, acceperunt. Reliquos vero, qui ABSISTUNT a principali successione et quocunque loco colliguntur, suspectos habere, vel quasi hæreticos et malæ sententiæ, vel quasi scindentes et elatos et sibi placentes, aut rursus ut hypocritas quæstûs gratia et vanæ gloriæ hoc operantes. Omnes autem hi decidunt a veritate. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 43. p. 277.

² 1 John ii. 19. Miramur de Ecclesiis ejus si a quibusdam deseruntur, quum ea nos ostendunt Christianos, quæ patimur ad exemplum ipsius Christi. *Ex nobis*, inquit, *prodierunt, sed*

This being the case, the doctrine, which those individuals *abandoned*, was, of plain necessity, and by the very statement of their progress; *more ancient* than the doctrine which they *adopted*¹.

Consequently, their separation from all the apostolical Churches, which were mutually in communion with each other, and which universally held the same system of doctrine, was *itself* a virtual confutation of their pretensions.

The sects, which, in the persons of their component individuals, *went out from* the primitive Churches, were inevitably *later* in their origin than the primitive Churches *from which they went out*.

Hence, as Irenæus and Tertullian justly remark, all heretics are *more modern* than the first Bishops, to whom the Apostles delivered the Catholic Church: hence the rule of faith, adopted in the Catholic Church, is *more ancient* than any heresy: hence this rule, held by the whole Church, is questioned by *none* save heretics: and hence the very *uniformity* of apostolic tradition, in every distinct Church at that early period, invincibly demonstrates both its strict accuracy and its perfect accordance with the mind of Scripture².

non fuerunt ex nobis: si fuissent ex nobis, permansissent utique nobiscum. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæ. § 1. Oper. p. 96.

¹ Ideo et sibi damnatum dixit hæreticum, quia et, in quo damnatur, SIBI ELEGIT. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæ. § 2. Oper. p. 97.

² See Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæ. Oper. p. 95—112.

V. Such, against the various heretics who had then started up and who had thus departed from the common doctrinal system of the Catholic Church, is the famous argument of Irenæus and Tertullian: an argument, from the FACT of *The universal reception of a special Rule of Faith on the universally alleged ground of aboriginal apostolic inculcation*, to the CONCLUSION that *The doctrines propounded in that Rule of Faith must have been received from Christ and his Apostles*. And, if we bear in mind the period when this argument was employed; a period, during which no Church was separated from the Apostles by more than some one or two intervening descents: we shall perhaps, under such an aspect, incline to pronounce it altogether irresistible.

I may add: that, powerful as this argument is even to *our* apprehension, we can perhaps form but a very inadequate estimate of the overwhelming force which it must have possessed when *first* employed.

The FACT, upon which it is built, I, in the *present*

Tertull. adv. Jud. Oper. p. 126, 137, 142. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. § 4, 5. lib. v. § 38, 39. Oper. p. 226, 327. Tertull. adv. Hermog. § 1. Oper. p. 335. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 1. Oper. p. 405. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. i. c. 2, 3. p. 34—37. lib. iii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12. p. 169—174, 191, 192. lib. iv. c. 43, 63. p. 277, 292. See also, in the same line of argument, Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. Oper. p. 274, 275. lib. vii. p. 765. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 35, 36.

day, have felt myself obliged to establish by competent historical testimony¹.

But, when the argument was *originally* used, the fundamental FACT required no such historical establishment.

Without an effort, it was palpable and obvious to *every* individual throughout the entire world of Christianity. Each person was *himself* an eye-witness. In the days of Irenèus and Tertullian, the FACT of *The universal Trinitarianism of the whole Catholic Church in all its mutually symbolising and mutually communicating branches* no more demanded the formality of a grave historic demonstration, than the FACT of *The universal Trinitarianism of the entire Anglican Church* would now demand such a substantiation. Those two early Fathers appealed to what was then familiarly known to *every* Christian : and, upon the notorious FACT thus appealed to, they framed their celebrated argument from universality and prescription².

¹ See above, book i. chap. 10. § II.

² Shortly after the time of Theodotus of Byzantium, or about the beginning of the third century, Artemon and his followers, who had adopted the humanitarian sentiments of Theodotus, had the hardihood to assert : that *Their doctrine was the real old apostolic doctrine* ; and that *The doctrine of Christ's divinity commenced only with Zephyrinus Bishop of Rome or about the year 198.*

This, consequently, might be urged, as somewhat resembling a formal denial of the FACT publicly appealed to by Irenèus and Tertullian.

The whole force of the ARGUMENT depends upon the certainty of the FACT: and, at the time when

Little, however, is its avail: for Irenèus lived and wrote considerably *prior* to the year 198; when, according to Artemon, the doctrine of Christ's divinity *commenced*. If, then, that doctrine only *commenced* in the year 198; and if, consequently, it was *unknown* in the Church *anterior* to that time: how could Irenèus have openly asserted, that it was universally held by all the Churches throughout the whole world?

We may conceive a man's wish to propagate *an opinion*: but we *cannot* conceive, how a man, *respecting* that opinion, could dare to *assert* publicly, as a notorious FACT, what (if the assertion of Artemon were well founded) both himself and every Christian Society must have *known* to be a notorious FALSEHOOD.

Dr. Priestley might wish to propagate his own scheme of *doctrine*: but Dr. Priestley would never, like Irenèus, *mutatis mutandis*, have asserted, as a notorious FACT, that *All the Churches in the world were humanitarian and antitrinitarian during the eighteenth century*.

I. The extravagant allegation of Artemon, however, as we may naturally suppose, was not suffered to pass without immediate contradiction.

By the Roman Presbyter Caius, if (as is generally supposed) Caius were the ancient writer cited by Eusebius, it was forthwith combated, after the only manner in which such allegations ought always to be combated. He met it and crushed it by the evidence of direct FACTS.

1. Justin and Miltiades, Tatian and Clement, Irenèus and Melito, with various other writers long prior to the time of Zephyrinus, had always maintained the divinity of Christ, and had unanimously borne witness that such from the first had invariably been the doctrine of the entire Church Catholic.

2. The old liturgical hymns of the Church, in which Christ

they wrote, their contemporaries could no more doubt the FACT, than they could doubt their own existence.

was invoked as God, were still extant, and were still in constant use.

3. Victor, the very predecessor of that Zephyrinus with whom the doctrine was alleged to have commenced, had actually excommunicated Theodotus, *because* he denied the divinity of Christ.

4. And it might have been added by Caius (as he probably *did* add, for Eusebius professes not to cite the whole of his Work, giving us in truth only a very brief portion of it): that the familiar Creeds of the Church, two of which have been preserved by Tertullian and another of which is still extant in the Work of the yet earlier apostolic Irenæus, were in the hands of every person who had been baptized; and that Theodotus had been universally reproached, as the denier of his God, and as the founder of what was indignantly called *The God-denying Apostasy* (ἡ ἀρνησίθεος ἀποστασία), at the very time, when, according to Artemon, no such doctrine as that of Christ's godhead was in existence. See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 28.

II. Such monstrous figments are at once put down by FACTS.

So far as its *origin* is concerned, the speculation of *Our Lord's mere Humanity*, under one modification or another, was doubtless, indeed, as ancient as the apostolic age: for Cerinthus who taught the mere humanity of the distinct individual Jesus until the Eon Christ descended upon him at his baptism, and Ebion who first started the notion of the absolutely mere humanity of the single individual Jesus-Christ save that he was miraculously born of a virgin, both came within that period. But this circumstance no more proves the doctrine itself to be apostolical, than a similar antiquity will prove the Gnosticism of the yet earlier Docetæ to be apostolical.

All these notions, from the very first, were condemned and

To *them*, therefore, the argument must have come home with a cogency and a demonstration,

rejected, as palpably heretical, by the whole Catholic Church in all its branches: while, on the contrary, the doctrine of *Christ's Essential Godhead and yet perfect manhood* always existed, under the precise aspect of the doctrine taught and delivered to the Church Catholic by the Apostles themselves.

III. Chronology is the light of History: and a very brief chronological statement will suffice to give the honest inquirer a clear view of the real merits of the case.

1. From the apostolic age down to the Council of Nice, seven successive speculatists rejected the doctrine of *our Lord's proper and essential divinity*.

With regard to the times during which these individuals respectively flourished, Cerinthus may be ascribed to A.D. 60: Ebion, to A.D. 62: Theodotus, to A.D. 195: Artemon, to A.D. 205: Beryllus, afterward happily reclaimed by Origen, to A.D. 242: Paul of Samosata, to A.D. 265: and Arius, to A.D. 317.

2. All these denied the doctrine of *our Lord's proper and essential divinity*: though they severally denied it (for error is ever various), with different degrees of intensity and with sundry shades of discrepance, from the theory which exhibited the Christ as the superangelic first-created of all God's works, down to the hypothesis which degraded him to a mere man unassociated in the way of union whether permanent or transient with *any* intelligence of a nature superior to the human.

And all these were successively censured and condemned, as manifest heretics, who perverted the well-known primeval faith received from the Apostles and harmoniously handed down in every regular ecclesiastical succession.

3. Now, from the very nature and necessity of things, it is plain: that, had the primitive Church, from the year 60 down

of which *we* can form but a very imperfect conception.

It was built upon a public FACT, of which *they themselves* were absolute eye-witnesses: it was built upon a public FACT, which, being actually seen and palpably felt by the whole world of Christians, could not possibly, in the very nature of things, be disbelieved or even so much as doubted. To *them*, historical demonstration was superfluous. Nothing more was requisite, than that they should consult their own bodily eyesight.

to the year 317, been always, on the ground of universal apostolic tradition, strictly antitrinitarian and humanitarian, this circumstance could never have occurred; for the condemnation of those persons *must*, in *that* case, have respected, not *their departure from the doctrine of Christ's essential divinity*, but *their departure in some instances from the absolutely strict doctrine of Christ's mere humanity*.

What the Church CONDEMNED, she could, by no possibility, have *herself* MAINTAINED.

Her very condemnation, therefore, proves: that, *So far from holding, she abhorred, as presumptuous impieties, ALL the condemned speculations.*

CHAPTER XI.

RESPECTING THE DIRECT CONNECTION OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY WITH THE AGE OF THE APOSTLES.

IN the whole of the preceding discussion, it has been my object, through various channels, to inquire : *Whether, on adequate historical testimony, it be possible to ascertain, within the recognised pale of the Catholic Church, the positive antiquity and apostolical inculcation of the doctrine of the Trinity.*

Or, in other words, it has been my object to inquire : *Whether there be historical evidence sufficient to establish the FACT ; that The doctrine of the Trinity, with the dependent doctrines of Christ's godhead and incarnation, formed the basis of the theological system, which from the very first was taught by our Lord and his Apostles, and which from the very first was as such received by the entire Catholic Church in all its several provincial or diocesan successions.*

That this FACT, *simply as a point of history*, has by a superabundance of testimony been established,

I am now at length willing to flatter myself. Yet, in conclusion, it may be useful to bring the demonstration to a point: that so I may leave it both firmly and distinctly impressed upon the mind of the really honest inquirer.

To such a purpose, I shall ask nothing more than the aid of Irenæus and Justin Martyr. For, while their joint and concurring evidence is capable of being compressed into a space so small as to preclude all danger of distracting the attention: it is, at the same time, so perfect and so compact, that we might well be content to rest upon it the absolute decision of the entire question.

I. Irenæus of Lyons was born in the year 97: and he wrote or published his Work against the Heresies of the age in the year 175.

While a young man, as he himself teaches us, he was a pupil of Polycarp: which Polycarp was himself the disciple of the Apostles and eminently of their last survivor the Apostle St. John.

Hence, though he actually *wrote* or *published* not earlier than the year 175; yet his strictly proper *evidence* is, in truth, much more ancient: for it may justly be deemed the personal evidence of his youth; that is to say, the personal evidence of a witness, who was living and learning and observing about the year 120 or only about twenty years after St. John's departure.

And hence, on the principle already laid down, the Church of Lyons, over which he presided as

Bishop, stood, through *his* instrumentality, though toward the latter end of the second century, separated, only by a single descent, from the Apostles themselves: for, between the Apostles and the then existing Church of Lyons in the person of her Bishop Irenèus, there intervenes only the single link of Polycarp.

1. Now the doctrines, publicly and controversially alleged to have been transmitted from the Apostles to all the various provincial branches of the entire collective Church Catholic, are distinctly stated or methodically summed up by Irenèus in numerous parts of his Treatise against the Heresies of the age.

(1.) Let us notice, for instance, the following statement, with the positive declaration attached to it.

The Church, though dispersed through the whole world to the ends of the earth, hath received this Faith from the Apostles and their disciples.

She believes in one God the Father Almighty: who hath made the heaven and the earth and the seas and all things in them.

And in one Jesus Christ the Son of God: who became incarnate for our salvation.

And in the Holy Ghost: who, through the prophets, preached the dispensations, and the advents, and the birth from the Virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the incarnate assumption to heaven, of our beloved Lord Jesus

Christ ; and his coming from heaven, in the glory of the Father, to recapitulate all things, and to raise up all flesh of all mankind : in order that, to Jesus Christ, our Lord and God and Saviour and King, according to the good pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee may bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth ; and in order that every tongue may confess him ; and in order that he may in all things execute just judgment.

Having received this declaration and this faith, the Church, though scattered throughout the whole world, diligently guards it, as if inhabiting only a single house : and, in like manner, she believes these matters, as having one soul and the same heart : and she harmoniously preaches and declares and delivers them, as possessing only one mouth.

For, through the world, there are indeed dissimilar languages : but the force of this tradition is one and the same. And neither do the Churches, which are founded in Germany, believe otherwise, or deliver otherwise : nor do those, which are founded in the Iberias, or among the Celts, or in the East, or in Egypt, or in Libya, or in the central regions of the earth. But, as God's creature the sun is one and the same in the whole world : so likewise the preaching of the truth every where shines, and enlightens all men who are willing to come to the knowledge of the truth ¹.

¹ Iren. adv. hæer. lib. i. c. 2, 3. p. 34—36.

(2.) We may notice yet again another doctrinal statement.

*The nations of the faithful believe in one God, the maker of heaven and earth and all things in them through Jesus Christ the Son of God: who, out of his exceeding great love toward his own creature, submitted to be born of a virgin, in himself uniting man to God*¹.

(3.) I add yet a third statement of those doctrines, which he attests to be the apostolically received doctrines of the whole Catholic Church.

*Christ himself, the Word of God, the only-begotten of the Father, is our God.—Existing in the beginning with God, he is the Word, who was always present with the human race, but who, in these last times, became passible man, being united to his own workmanship. Hence, he did not, for the first time, begin to be the Son of God, when he was incarnate and made man: but, on the contrary, he had always co-existed with the Father*².

2. Such were the doctrines, publicly alleged to have been transmitted from Christ and his Apostles to the entire Catholic Church: and, as Irenæus vouches for the *universal* reception of this faith by THE WHOLE CHURCH IN ALL HER BRANCHES; so is he equally explicit as to the *mode* of its transmission, both to himself, and to all the Churches of pro-

¹ Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 4. p. 172.

² Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 18. p. 206. c. 20. p. 208.

consular Asia : a mode, which may serve as a copy of the mode invariably prevalent in every other ecclesiastical succession.

*Polycarp also, who was not only instructed by the Apostles and conversed with many of them, but who was likewise by the Apostles made Bishop of the Church of Smyrna in Asia : this Polycarp always taught us those things, which he had learned from the Apostles themselves, which he also delivered to the Church, and which alone are true. All the Churches in Asia, and they who succeeded Polycarp, down to the present day, give testimony to these things*¹.

¹ Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 3. p. 171. An exactly similar attestation will be found in an epistle of Irenæus to Florinus, which has been preserved by the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius.

That holy Father professes his distinct recollection, both of the very place where his master Polycarp was wont to deliver his instructions, of his goings out and of his comings in, of the tenor of his life, of the aspect of his body, of the discourses which he addressed to the multitude, of his narratives of the conversations which he had held with John and with others who had seen the Lord, and of his habit of relating their discourses when he was accustomed to state what he had heard from them concerning the Lord and his doctrine as from men who themselves had seen the Word of Life.

All these matters, Irenæus, receiving them direct from Polycarp, declares himself, through God's assistance, to have faithfully laid up in his memory : and, alluding to the well-known peculiarity attendant upon old age, he observes, that he recollected them far more precisely and minutely than circumstances

3. Here we have the positive and public and unambiguous evidence of Irenèus, as to the *mode*, in which the doctrines of Christ's godhead and of the Trinity were transmitted to himself and to the Church.

He declares, that both he himself and many others received these doctrines immediately from Polycarp: *who*, says he, *always taught us those things*.

But Polycarp his master professed, that *he had learned the doctrines in question from the Apostles themselves*: and, on the specific ground of that authority, *he delivered them to the Church*; pronouncing, without reserve or hesitation, that *they alone are true*.

Therefore the doctrines of the Trinity and of

of recent occurrence; for, as he justly remarks, whatever things are learned in youth or in boyhood so coalesce with the human mind, that they seem (as it were) to become a portion of its very self.

On this principle of his own personal acquaintance with primitive apostolic truth, a FACT in which it is *morally impossible* that he could have been mistaken, he reprehends the novel heresy of Florinus, as assuredly never taught by those Presbyters his predecessors, who had been the immediate disciples of the Apostles.

The confutation is irresistible: for Irenèus *must* have known, whether the speculation of Florinus *did* or *did not* agree with the lessons which he had himself received from Polycarp as the doctrines taught by St. John. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 20.

the godhead of Christ must inevitably be deemed apostolic doctrines.

4. I must not close these remarks on the testimony of Irenèus, without noticing a very important particular by which it is characterised.

In confirmation of his assertion, Irenèus, we may observe, directly and boldly appeals, both to all the Churches of Asia, and to the special successors of Polycarp in the Church of Smyrna.

Polycarp, says he, always taught us those things, which he had learned from the Apostles themselves, which he also delivered to the Church, and which alone are true. ALL THE CHURCHES IN ASIA, AND THEY WHO SUCCEEDED POLYCARP, DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY, GIVE TESTIMONY TO THESE THINGS.

Now, among the Asiatic Churches thus appealed to, Polycarp had been a burning and a shining light, for the space of more than half a century : which period of more than half a century had expired only twenty-eight years previous to the making of the appeal on the part of Irenèus¹.

Therefore the Churches of Asia and the successors of Polycarp could not possibly have *then* been ignorant as to the mere naked fact of WHAT doctrines were really preached by Polycarp.

¹ Polycarp suffered martyrdom in the year 147 : Irenèus wrote in the year 175. The episcopate of Polycarp, therefore, had terminated, only twenty-eight years before Irenèus publicly appealed to the Churches of Asia in regard to the doctrines which he inculcated.

Such being the case, I might well urge the moral impossibility of any man, gifted with common prudence, superfluously hazarding an appeal, which, if ill founded, must immediately have been contemptuously rejected. But, in truth, I may do much more than barely insist upon an abstract difficulty.

The justice of the appeal may be directly evinced by the testimony both of Polycarp himself and of the members of his Church who witnessed and survived his martyrdom.

*I praise thee, said the expiring Prelate, I bless thee, I glorify thee, with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ thy beloved Son: with whom, to thee and to the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and to all succeeding ages*¹.

*It is impossible for us, said the surviving members of the Church of Smyrna, either to forsake Christ who suffered for the salvation of all that shall be saved throughout the whole world, or to worship any other beside him. For him truly, inasmuch as he is the Son of God, WE ADORE: but the martyrs, as disciples and imitators of the Lord, worthily WE LOVE*².

The thanksgiving and doxology of Polycarp constitute a palpable act of *divine adoration*,

¹ Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. de mart. Polycarp. § xiv. Patr. Apost. Cotel. vol. ii. p. 201.

² Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. § xvii. Ibid. p. 202.

whereof the three persons of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are the declared objects. Polycarp, therefore, *himself*, fully justifies the appeal of his pupil Irenèus.

Nor is the appeal of Irenèus less completely justified by the *Smyrnèan survivors* of Polycarp. They acknowledge and vindicate their *adoration* of Christ, as avowedly contradistinguished from their mere brotherly *love* of the martyrs. Christ they *worship*: but they renounce, as manifestly idolatrous, any the least *worship* even of their late dear and venerated Bishop Polycarp, when such worship is alleged as a circumstance very likely to occur. Hence it is evident, that their confessed *adoration* of Christ was strictly *divine adoration*. It was an *adoration*, which they counted themselves *justly* to pay to the Son of God, who, very God himself, had existed (as Polycarp taught them) from all eternity with the Father; but which they neither did nor could, without gross impiety and sacrilegious blasphemy, pay to the very holiest of the martyrs: it was, in short, an *adoration*, specially placed in studied opposition to that *love* which alone they could conscientiously render to the disciples and followers of their acknowledged *Lord and God and Saviour and King*.

II. I am at a loss to understand, how any testimony can be more compact and decisive and perfect in all its parts, than this which we have now seen borne by the venerable Irenèus: yet,

by the concurrent testimony of Justin Martyr, it may at once be rivalled and corroborated.

The conversion of Justin took place shortly after the year 130, or but little more than thirty years subsequent to the death of St. John. Hence the doctrinal testimony, contained in any of his writings, is in effect the doctrinal testimony of the year 130: for about that time it was, that Justin was catechetically instructed in the principles of Christianity anterior to his participation of the sacrament of Baptism.

Now, in the first of his two Apologies, we read the following very important and remarkable passage.

Not knowing that certain beings were evil demons, the ancients called them gods.—We, however, say: that the perpetrators of the enormities ascribed to them, so far from being upright agents, are absolutely very demons most wicked and most unholy; for they perform actions unlike those of even mere men who delight in virtue. On this account, we are called Atheists. And truly we confess: that we are indeed atheists, in regard to such beings as these who are reckoned gods; but we are not atheists, in regard to the true God, who is the parent of justice and temperance and all other virtues. For HIM, MOST ASSUREDLY; AND HIS SON, WHO CAME FORTH FROM HIM (and who, respecting these things, instructed both us and the army of the other good angels that follow him and that are made like unto him); AND

THE PROPHETIC SPIRIT : THESE WE WORSHIP AND WE ADORE, *honouring them in word and in truth, and, to every person who wishes to learn, ungrudgingly delivering as we ourselves have been taught*¹.

1. The Apology of Justin being a public document written in the name and on the behalf of the Catholic Church, its author, throughout the whole composition, adopts a plural phraseology. He speaks, not merely in his own name, but in the name of the whole body of professing Christians : he delivers, not merely his own private speculations, but the universally received theological system of the entire Church.

This circumstance inevitably follows, both from his uniformly plural language, and from the very nature of the composition itself. The passage before us, therefore, exhibits, not simply the doctrine and the practice of the individual Justin, but collectively the doctrine and the practice of the Catholic Church as that Church subsisted about the year 130 or about thirty years after the death of St. John.

2. Such being the case, we learn from the present passage, that the Catholic Church, about thirty years after the death of St. John, held, in point of belief, the cœexistence of three divine persons in the one true God ; which three persons she severally denominated *the Father* and *the Son* and

¹ Justin. Apol i. Oper. 43.

the Spirit: and from the same passage we yet further learn, that, in point of practice, she worshipped and adored, without giving the least hint of there being any difference in the quality and the amount of her worship and adoration, these three divine persons under the aspect of their jointly constituting that alone true God, whose essential unity she always most explicitly taught and maintained.

The testimony of Justin to this naked historical FACT is, in itself, a matter of the very last importance. And, even if it vouched for *nothing more* than the FACT as I have stated it, we should, I think, find it impossible to avoid the conclusion: that the doctrine must have been taught, and that the practice must have been enjoined, by the Apostles themselves. For, if the whole Catholic Church were *antitrinitarian* in the days of St. John, that same whole Catholic Church (according to the excellent and self-approving rule laid down by Dr. Priestley, that *great bodies of men do not, soon, or without great causes, change their opinions* ¹) could not with one consent have *suddenly* become avowedly *trinitarian* in the short space of only thirty years after the death of St. John.

3. But, in truth, the testimony of Justin goes far beyond the simple FACT: that, *About the year*

¹ Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 13. Works, vol. vi. p. 473.

130, *the whole Catholic Church, in doctrine and in worship, was avowedly trinitarian.*

His testimony, be it carefully observed, vouches for the yet additional FACT: that *The Christians of that day were ready to deliver their faith and their practice to all who should wish to learn them, even as they themselves had been previously taught the same faith and the same practice by the regularly appointed Catechists their own ecclesiastically authorised instructors and predecessors.*

Such evidence opens a much more extensive view of the question, than the first part of Justin's testimony presented.

The whole body of Christians, in the year 130, both *themselves* held, and were ready to teach to *others*, the doctrine and adoration of God, even the Father and the Son and the prophetic Spirit.

But this faith and this practice were no upstart invention of their own, unknown to and unrecognised by the generation which anteriorly flourished. They had *professedly* LEARNED them, both the one and the other, from the duly appointed and ecclesiastically sanctioned Catechists, their spiritual seniors and predecessors. The testimony of Justin, therefore, vouches, not only for the faith and practice of the Catholic Church about the year 130, but likewise for the faith and practice of the Catholic Church during the entire generation which preceded the year 130.

Now the ecclesiastical generation, which pre-

ceded the year 130, must, by the very necessity of chronology, have been contemporaneous with St. John. Therefore the faith and practice of the Catholic Church in the days of St. John must inevitably have been the faith and practice catechetically delivered to Justin and to the men of his generation.

But this faith and this practice, as Justin, himself, in the name of the whole Catholic Church, publicly attests, was *The doctrine and the worship of the one true God, even the Father and the Son and the prophetic Spirit*. Therefore the doctrine and the worship of the one true God, even the Father and the Son and the prophetic Spirit, must have been the faith and the practice of the Catholic Church in the days of St. John and of the Apostles his fellows.

The conclusion, to which we have thus been regularly brought, perfectly agrees with the testimony of Irenæus, which has already been discussed : and, so far as I can judge, the final result, on the legitimate principles of historical evidence, is THE POSITIVE OR APOSTOLICAL ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

CHAPTER XII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

HERE, not improperly, I might bring my investigation to a close : for I have now accomplished the task, which I imposed upon myself.

Yet, since various objections and apparent difficulties, in the way of evidence, have been started by writers of the Humanitarian School, it will be alike useful and equitable to bestow some time and care upon their examination.

Silence, respecting such a topic, might be misconstrued into deliberate unfairness and conscious imbecility : an air of suspicion might be thrown upon the entire mass of evidence which has been produced : those, who have been less familiar with inquiries of this nature, might be led to imagine, that their confidence had been abused : and thus the cause of truth might be made to suffer by an omission, which might easily and plausibly be exhibited as an intentional and dishonest suppression.

Hence, on every account, I think it adviseable

not to pretermitt an examination of the several matters which have been adduced by the advocates of Humanitarianism.

I. It may be proper, however, to state : that this examination will not respect those *abstract* difficulties in the doctrine of the Trinity, which are often urged by modern humanitarian writers as inherent in the very tenet itself.

A consideration of *such* difficulties enters not into the plan of the present Treatise : for the present Treatise respects A MERE HISTORICAL QUESTION OF MATTER OF FACT.

As its exclusive object is to demonstrate, upon credible testimony, the naked FACT ; that *The doctrine of the Trinity, whether in the abstract it be true or whether in the abstract it be false, was the doctrine taught from the very first by the Apostles and received under that precise aspect from the very first by the Catholic Church* : so, obviously, its author is concerned with no difficulties or objections, save those which tend to invalidate or to set aside the naked FACT, which his Treatise, by adequate evidence, has undertaken to establish.

If, on the score of abstract difficulties, a person chooses to reject the doctrine of the Trinity ; notwithstanding the force of an historical demonstration, that, in point of FACT, the doctrine was taught by the Apostles and was from them professedly received by all the successions of the primitive Church Catholic : the author of the

present Treatise conceives, that, so far as the plan of his Work is concerned, he has no special business with such an individual. A person, who can thus act, must plainly be viewed, not as a believer, but as an unbeliever, in divine revelation.

II. In truth, nothing can be more childishly unphilosophical and illogical, than the too common antitrinitarian practice, of starting abstract objections to the bare nature of the doctrine itself, and of pretending to decide, by the wholly inapplicable argument *a priori*, the pure historical question of FACT, *Whether the doctrine of the Trinity is or is not a doctrine of Christianity* ¹.

¹ This is the fatal paralogism, which runs, for instance, through Dr. Channing's Discourse on *The superior tendency of Unitarianism to form an elevated religious character*.

He reasons *abstractedly*, against the truth of the doctrine of the Trinity, from his own distorted arbitrary statement of its alleged moral and intellectual tendency: and, from a rapid view of this caricatured portrait, he determines, through the dangerous *argumentum a priori* and in language which I absolutely have shuddered to read; that such a doctrine *cannot* form a part of sincere Christianity.

I. Now, even to omit the gross sophism of arguing from a gratuitous statement of *his own* which would offensively exhibit Trinitarianism as alike *absurd* and *immoral*; what can be a greater paralogism, than the very PRINCIPLE upon which the whole of Dr. Channing's Discourse is constructed?

1. The question is a simple historical question of FACT: the question, namely; *Whether the doctrine of the Trinity, with the dependent doctrine of Christ's essential deity, was taught by the Apostles, and is propounded in Scripture*.

2. Yet this palpably *mere* question of FACT, which, like all

The province of Reason is, to examine evidence as to *facts*: the business of Faith is, implicitly to

other *similar* questions, can only be determined by *evidence*, Dr. Channing actually professes to determine by *the application of abstract a priori reasoning*.

3. Thus, in *former* days, did misplaced ingenuity determine, in the negative, the question of FACT; *Whether the Copernican System be true, and whether men exist in the supposed paradoxical condition of Antipodes*: and thus, in the *present* day, does a more eloquent, than logical, American Divine similarly determine, in the negative, the question of FACT; *Whether the doctrine of the Trinity, with the dependent doctrine of Christ's true godhead, was taught by the Apostles, and is propounded in Scripture*.

II. Dr. Channing, in the exordium of his Discourse, professes his intention of *speaking freely, and, some may say, severely, of Trinitarianism*.

Far *more* severely, I fear, has he exposed his own grievous departure from the most acknowledged principles of right reasoning.

I say *departure from*, not *ignorance of*; because his own admirable Discourse on *The Evidences of Christianity*, delivered before the American University of Cambridge, precludes all possibility of the charitable hypothesis of *ignorance*. Rarely have I met with a more beautiful, a more compact, and a more original, train of reasoning, than that contained in the last mentioned Discourse.

III. While Dr. Channing would settle *an historical question of FACT* by the application of *an abstract argumentum a priori*, I must honestly admit, that he *does* indeed *darkly hint* at a matter, which, if it were capable of substantiation, would doubtless have effectually overturned the entire doctrine of the Trinity.

1. Before a congregation in New York, which probably had not much entered into remote ecclesiastical inquiries, he ob-

receive any *doctrine*, which, on sufficient evidence, shall appear to have been communicated by divine revelation.

scurely hints at the dexterously insinuated circumstance : that *The doctrine of the Trinity was the invention of the Priesthood during what are usually called the dark ages ; the ages, to wit, which succeeded the downfall of the Western Roman Empire, and which preceded the revival of science and learning.*

Lest I should be thought guilty of misrepresentation, I sub-join Dr. Channing's own precise words.

Trinitarianism, instead of teaching an intelligible God, offers to the mind a monstrous compound of hostile attributes, BEARING PLAIN MARKS OF THOSE AGES OF DARKNESS, when Christianity shed but a faint ray, and when the diseased fancy teemed with prodigies and unnatural creations. Disc. p. 22. 4th Liverpool Edit. 1829.

2. Now, could Dr. Channing have historically proved, that *The doctrine of the Trinity originated in the dark ages*, or somewhere (as the chronology of those ages is most commonly arranged) between the year 500 and the year 1400 : every person must instinctively perceive, that the cause of Trinitarianism is *utterly hopeless* ; and so, from a too implicit assumption of the eloquent preacher's strict accuracy, it was, I doubt not, *judged* to be, by at least the symbolising portion of the audience assembled at the dedication of the second congregational unitarian church in the city of New York.

(1.) But is Dr. Channing prepared *distinctly to assert*, what he *obscurely though not unintelligibly insinuated* to the numerous just admirers of his oratorical powers : that *The doctrine of the Trinity first sprang up in the dark ages* ; and, consequently, that *This monstrous novel compound of hostile attributes was utterly unknown and unthought of and unheard of anterior to the sixth century* ?

Such a matter, I much incline to think, he will never venture

Faith and Reason have each their own proper domain : and neither of them can, legitimately or

distinctly to assert. Why, then, should he *insinuate* it, as AN HISTORICAL FACT, to a lay congregation at New York ?

(2.) The Discourse of Dr. Channing, in which, with much truth, he professes his intention of *speaking severely of Trinitarianism*, was a *Concio ad Populum*, not a *Concio ad Clerum*. This, I think, he ought to have considered.

Of course, no trinitarian *Clergyman* would have been moved by the allegation : that *The doctrine, which he professes and through which he hopes to be saved, bears plain marks of those ages of darkness, when Christianity shed but a faint ray, and when the diseased fancy teemed with prodigies and unnatural creations.*

But, with a respectable Layman, unused to ecclesiastical researches, whether a Trinitarian or an Antitrinitarian, the case was very widely and very essentially different.

Dr. Channing, he would say, publicly assures me : that Trinitarianism is a mere abortion of the dark ages, and that thence it bears plain marks of its origin. Now a well-read and a well-principled Divine would never, even in a burst of eloquence, have thrown out such an asseveration, had he not known it, from his own personal researches, to be STRICTLY CORRECT. Doubtless, then, by a necessary consequence, the doctrine of the Trinity is a mere unauthorised NOVELTY : and, as such, it clearly can be neither part nor parcel of sincere primitive Christianity.

(3.) Again I repeat it, that Dr. Channing ought to have considered well the component elements of the audience which he was addressing, ere he threw out such insinuations, or more than insinuations, in a *Concio ad Populum*.

3. *That we desire to propagate this doctrine, says he, we do not conceal.* Disc. p. 5.

Now I blame no man for propagating the religious system, which, after a full and honest and ungarbled examination of

harmlessly, encroach upon the domain of the other.

To bring Faith into operation, without sufficient evidence as to the fact of doctrine upon which it is required to operate, is a gross absurdity, worthy only of an age of the darkest barbarism and the most obtuse superstition.

But to permit Reason, upon the utter uncertainty of mere abstract principles, to question the

evidence, he believes, in the presence of Almighty God, to be the truth and the whole truth and nothing but the truth. It may, however, be doubted, whether the acquisition of proselytes to the cause of Antitrinitarianism, through the medium of a popular assurance that *The doctrine of the Trinity bears plain marks of the ages of darkness*, will afford, to the zealous asserter of such an extraordinary historical proposition, much comfort upon his death-bed. Certainly, it will afford small credit or strength to the cause itself.

4. Dr. Channing's Discourse has been republished, as a cheap Tract for circulation, in England : and I read it in the fourth Liverpool edition. Are we, from this circumstance, to conclude : that the ministers of our English Antitrinitarian Congregations agree with Dr. Channing in his intimation, that *The doctrine of the Trinity was unknown and unrecognised in the Church until it was first invented during those dark ages of which it bears such plain marks ?*

If they *do* agree with him : where is their historical evidence for the alleged FACT ?

If they *do not* agree with him : how came they, four several times, to reprint his extraordinary intimation, *without the slightest note of censure and disagreement ?*

It will be recollected, that the Discourse has been *cheaply* reprinted for the purpose of *popular* circulation in England.

truth of a doctrine which upon adequate testimony has been shewn to have been communicated by a revelation from heaven, is an absurdity even yet more portentous.

When a man, upon independent evidence, shall once have been fully satisfied of the divine origination and the divine authority of Christianity: he stands bound, by his own acknowledged premises, to receive any doctrine which Christianity may propound.

Henceforth, he is concerned *exclusively* with the question what it really *does* propound for his acceptation.

Of *this* question an examination is strictly the province of Reason: nor are we at all bound to receive any doctrine as a doctrine of Christianity, unless by sufficient evidence it can be proved to be such.

But, when once a doctrine shall have been adequately shewn to be a doctrine revealed by Christianity; Christianity itself being viewed, independently, as a divine revelation: the operation of Reason terminates, and the operation of Faith commences.

The doctrine in question may, or may not, be encumbered by abstract difficulties: but *these* come not legitimately within the province of Reason.

It is sufficient: that *The doctrine has been ascertained to have proceeded from God.*

Reason, in the ascertaining of this FACT, has done her duty : and, at this point, she must be content to give place to Faith.

Let it only be proved, on competent testimony, that *A doctrine has really proceeded from God* : and, by the strictest principles even of Reason herself, the sole *future* intellectual business of man is humble and implicit Belief.

APPENDIX I.

APPENDIX I.

NUMBER I.

RESPECTING THE ANTENICENE INTERPRETATION OF PASSAGES IN
SCRIPTURE, THE IMPORT OF WHICH IS LITIGATED BETWEEN THE
TRINITARIAN AND THE ANTITRINITARIAN.

INDEPENDENTLY of the general drift and purpose of Holy Scripture, the Trinitarian is wont to adduce a variety of particular passages upon which he confidently builds his own system of Theology.

The Antitrinitarian, however, denies, that these passages give any warrant for such a system : and he assigns to them a sense totally different from that, which his opponent has been accustomed to assign to them.

So far as AUTHORITY is concerned, each professes to build his scheme of doctrine upon SCRIPTURE. But then the Scripture, to which they alike appeal, is, obviously, not *Scripture in the abstract*, but *Scripture understood according to a particular interpretation*.

Such being the case, the true question is not ; *Whether* SCRIPTURE *ought to be* THE AUTHORITATIVE RULE OF FAITH : for *here*, with the perhaps insulated exception of Dr. Priestley, who roundly declares, that, *even if the doctrine of the Trinity were found in Scripture, it would be impossible for a reasonable man to believe it* (Hist. of Early Opin. Introd. sect. iv. Works, vol.

vi. p. 33, 34.) ; here, I suppose, there is no discrepance of opinion.

But the true question is : *What is that right INTERPRETATION of SCRIPTURE, which, on some rational and intelligible principle, presents to us its morally certain import.* See above, book i. chap. 9.

I. Taking up Scripture, as he would take up any other book written for the purpose of being generally and easily understood, the Trinitarian usually contends : that the passages, adduced by him, ought to be interpreted according to the natural and obvious purport of the phraseology in which they are couched ; and that an interpretation, conducted on this principle of *conventionality*, without which no language can convey any definite meaning, will assuredly bring out the doctrines of Christ's godhead and the Trinity.

II. But, to this principle of interpretation, the Antitrinitarian objects : and his objection he labours, at the same time, to clothe with at least a decent semblance of plausibility.

1. On the present topic, let us hear the decision of Mr. Belsham.

Impartial and sincere inquirers after truth must be particularly upon their guard against what is called THE NATURAL SIGNIFICATION OF WORDS AND PHRASES.—It is very possible : that men, who lived two thousand years ago, might annex very different ideas to the same words and phrases. So that the sense, which appears most foreign to us, might be most natural to them. Belsham's Calm Inquiry, p. 5.

2. We may also hear, with considerable advantage, the statement of Dr. Carpenter.

We are of opinion : that THE PLAIN AND OBVIOUS SENSE OF THE WORDS OF SCRIPTURE is not that ; which, from long habit, may have become familiar to the mind ; and which, from its general diffusion, may now appear to be the plain and obvious sense, even to the poor and unlearned : but that ; in which they would be readily understood by those persons, who, from native use, without any particular cultivation of mind, were conversant

with the phraseology of the languages in which they were written, and who had, from the same cause, those turns of thought and habits of imagination, which would enable them, without hesitation, to understand the force of expressions, which, when literally rendered into our language and referred to our modes of thinking and feeling, are either dark (if not incomprehensible) or excite ideas widely different from the meaning of the author. Carpenter's Unitar. p. 5, 6.

III. Dr. Carpenter, we see, by a reference to other ages and other climes, wishes to persuade us ; that *The PRESENT obvious sense of Scripture, IN THIS REALM OF ENGLAND, is NOT really its obvious sense* : while Mr. Belsham exhorts us to be particularly on our guard against what is called *The NATURAL signification of words and phrases.*

Now, of this caution, without a due attention to which the plain english scriptural reader of modern days will inevitably fancy that *The Bible teaches the doctrines of Christ's godhead and the Trinity*, the avowed ground is : that, *MANY YEARS AGO, in the time of the primitive Church, and in the regions of Greece and Asia, the passages, which NOW, in their natural construction, inculcate those doctrines, conveyed, to the minds of the early believers, no such doctrines as their natural and obvious import.*

The determination of the question, therefore, is expressly referred to the judgment of the primitive Church.

IV. This appeal the Trinitarian freely accepts. For, though, strictly speaking, he defers nothing, to the early ecclesiastical writers, in the way of *PERSONAL AUTHORITY* : yet, on the legitimate principle of historiography, he defers much, to them, in the way of *PERSONAL TESTIMONY.*

The true doctrine, concerning the person of Christ, must be allowed to have been held by the Apostles.

They, no doubt, knew : whether Their Master was, only a man like themselves, or their Maker.

Their immediate disciples would receive and maintain the same doctrine that they held.

And it must have been some time : before any other could have been introduced and have spread to any extent ; and, especially, before it could have become the prevailing opinion. Priestley's Reply to Animad. sect. iv. Works, vol. xviii. p. 23.

V. These are golden sentences : and, in the delivering of them, Dr. Priestley breathes the very spirit of Irenæus and Tertullian.

1. If, through the instrumentality of the early ecclesiastical writers employed *solely* in the way of CREDIBLE EVIDENCE, we can ascertain the mode in which the litigated texts were understood by the primitive Church : we shall have advanced as near to absolute truth of exposition, as perhaps the nature of moral testimony will admit.

For, in *whatever* sense the texts were understood by those, who had conversed, either with the Apostles, or with their immediate and almost immediate successors : in *that* sense we can scarcely doubt of their having been understood by the Apostles themselves.

(1.) Thus, for instance, an interpretation, propounded by Irenæus, who expressly declares that he received his system of doctrine from Polycarp who similarly professed that he had received it in the first instance from St. John, *cannot*, on the principle so judiciously laid down by Dr. Priestley, be DIRECTLY OPPOSITE to the mind of St. John.

When comparatively unimportant texts are discussed, Irenæus may doubtless give merely his own sense : because, very possibly, he may never have learned what was the precise apostolic exposition.

But, in the case of texts, the interpretation of which involves such an immense and vital discrepance of opinion, as *Whether Christ was a mere man, or Whether he was a man incomprehensibly united with the second person of a divine Trinity* : in the case of *such* texts, it is impossible to believe ; that Irenæus *could* have hazarded an interpretation DIRECTLY OPPOSITE to what *must* have been *then* universally known as the interpretation of an inspired Apostle.

(2.) This being the case, if the primitive Church, as Dr. Priestley contends, were antitrinitarian and humanitarian : *then*, assuredly, the early current expositions of the various litigated texts will be found, either exactly to agree with the modern antitrinitarian expositions of them, or at least in principle strictly to harmonise with such expositions.

But, if the primitive Church were trinitarian, and if she held the doctrine of Christ's essential divinity : *then*, obviously, the early current expositions of the litigated texts will be found, substantially and systematically, to agree with those expositions of them, which are advocated, as their plain and natural import, by modern Trinitarians.

2. Let, then, the texts in question, through the medium of historical testimony as afforded by the early Antenicene Fathers, be referred to the decision of the primitive Church.

According to Dr. Priestley himself, the text is UNEXCEPTIONABLE : and both Mr. Belsham and Dr. Carpenter, unless I wholly misunderstand them, appeal to it from *the NATURAL signification of words and phrases*, as that signification presents itself to our modern english apprehension.

Nor, in truth, is there any other process, by which we can more reasonably hope to attain a moral certainty in regard to the true sense of Holy Scripture.

If, by the primitive Church, the litigated texts were invariably understood in an antitrinitarian sense : who does not instinctively see and feel, that the cause of Trinitarianism is altogether desperate ?

And, on the other hand, if, by the primitive Church, the litigated texts were invariably understood in a trinitarian sense : who does not immediately perceive the utter hopelessness of the cause of Antitrinitarianism ?

A trinitarian Church can no more adopt and advocate an antitrinitarian exposition of Scripture, than an antitrinitarian Church can adopt and advocate a trinitarian exposition.

As the exposition is, so will the Church be : and, since the present inquiry regards the exposition familiarly and systemati-

cally adopted by the *primitive* Church ; as the exposition adopted by the *primitive* Church is, so will be the doctrine maintained and inculcated by the Apostles.

VI. Respecting the texts litigated between the modern Trinitarian and the modern Antitrinitarian, Mr. Belsham and Dr. Carpenter rather insinuate than directly assert, that the early Christians understood them after some such manner as they themselves recommend. But Dr. Priestley, more bold or less guarded, has resorted to open and undisguised asseveration.

It will also, says he, weigh much with those, who are apt to lay great stress on the usual construction of SOME PARTICULAR TEXTS, to consider : that, in those early times, the Scriptures were constantly read, by persons better qualified to understand the language of them than we at this time can pretend to be, WITHOUT SUGGESTING ANY SUCH NOTIONS OF THE DIVINITY OR THE PREEXISTENCE OF CHRIST AS ARE NOW SUPPOSED TO BE CLEARLY CONTAINED IN THEM. Letters to Bp. Horsley, part ii. pref. Works, vol. xviii. p. 148.

VII. Such is the broad and direct asseveration of Dr. Priestley.

1. Now I have carefully perused his two historical Works : but I do not recollect the adduction even so much as of a *single* solitary instance, in which *any one* of those PARTICULAR TEXTS is, by the primitive Church, understood and interpreted, as modern Antitrinitarians understand and interpret them.

Doubtless, we have Dr. Priestley's *own word*, for the alleged very important FACT : that *The texts, now litigated between Trinitarians and Antitrinitarians, suggested not, to their primitive readers, any such notions of the divinity or the præexistence of Christ, as are at present supposed to be clearly contained in them.*

Yet, surely, it were no unreasonable demand : that the Historian's *own word*, however great in some quarters may be its weight, should have been substantiated by a decent sufficiency of *adequate tangible evidence.*

As the matter now stands, we have *broad assertion* without a

shadow of *proof*. The vast importance of primitive interpretation is evidently felt and fully allowed. Dr. Priestley assures his readers : that *Primitive interpretation is altogether on the side of Antitrinitarian Humanitarianism*. And, thence, with much sound judgment, he constructs an argument : which, as it clearly *ought* to do, *will* weigh much with those who are apt to lay great stress on the usual construction of SOME PARTICULAR TEXTS.

From the alleged FACT, his reasoning is quite unexceptionable. Nothing is wanted, but A SUBSTANTIATION OF THE ALLEGED FACT ITSELF.

The alleged FACT, however, is wholly *unsubstantiated* : nor, in support of it, is even so much as *one* poor specimen of primitive interpretation adduced by the positive historian.

Must we censure him for this total lack of evidence ?

Verily, in no wise. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. Evidence to the alleged FACT exists not : and Dr. Priestley was not bound to produce a non-entity.

2. But the worst of the matter is : that the case is not merely a case of *negativeness*.

So far at least as my own inquiries have extended through the period which preceded the first Nicene Council, I invariably find ; that THE NATURAL SIGNIFICATION OF WORDS AND PHRASES, against which we are cautioned by Mr. Belsham and Dr. Carpenter, is precisely the signification delivered by the early ecclesiastical writers : I invariably find ; that, in their exposition of the PARTICULAR TEXTS alluded to, those writers agree, not with modern Antitrinitarians, but with modern Trinitarians.

In *no one* instance have I fortunèd upon a text, interpreted, as Dr. Priestley or Mr. Lindsey or Mr. Belsham or Dr. Carpenter would interpret it.

With rare uniformity, *every* exposition, which I have encountered, is strictly trinitarian.

Never, so far as I have observed, do the Antenicene Writers, in their interpretation of the PARTICULAR TEXTS, favour the cause of Dr. Priestley. More fancifully than soberly (let us

forgive them this wrong), they will sometimes, indeed, discover the doctrines of Christ's godhead and the Trinity in texts, which the severity of no modern Catholic would allow him to adduce. But, as for the PARTICULAR TEXTS, *here* they all agree in one and the same story : and, unfortunately for the Historian's argument from an alleged FACT, *that* story is NOT the story, which *he* would narrate.

3. I may add yet another matter, which ought not to be altogether pretermitted.

Up to the very apostolic age, the early writers cite, as undoubtedly genuine, those exordia of the two Gospels by Matthew and by Luke, which the tardy sagacity of the Editor of the *Improved Version of the New Testament* has at length discovered to be interpolations : and, on the high authority of Irenæus, we learn ; that the daring excisions of Marcion, the very *Magnus Apollo* of the Editor, were conducted on no critical principle whatsoever ; but that he hacked and slashed away what the whole Catholic Church had always received as canonical, for not any more cogent reason, than a mere, though decided, contrariety to his own speculative innovations. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. i. c. 29. p. 82, 83.

4. On the whole, therefore, I venture to infer : that the constant reading of the Scriptures, in those *early* times, by *persons* (as Dr. Priestley remarks) *better qualified to understand the language of them than we at this time can pretend to be*, must have suggested precisely such notions of the divinity and the preëxistence of Christ, as by Trinitarians are *now* supposed to be clearly contained in the PARTICULAR TEXTS under litigation.

VIII. If, however, the Historian's *directly opposite* assertion be accurate : it will be an easy task for some one of his lettered followers to verify it by a copious adduction of those early antenicene interpretations of the PARTICULAR TEXTS in question, which shall be uniformly found to correspond with the interpretations proposed either by himself or by any other modern Antitrinitarian.

Meanwhile, it is *my own* business, through the medium of an

exactly similar process, to justify the inference, which I myself have ventured to propound.

For this purpose, I shall simply bring forward, in the original Greek or Latin, various specimens of early antenicene exposition selected out of a much more ample collection : that so the painful enquirer, distrusting peradventure any translation of *mine*, may weigh and judge for *himself*.

Such a plan strikes upon my own apprehension, as being by far the most equitable : and it is hoped, that a moderately extensive production of original antenicene passages may be neither useless nor unacceptable to the diligent and honest student in Theology.

TEXT I.

GEN. i. 16, 26. iii. 22.

Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους.
—Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα
ἡμετέραν.—Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ἴδου, Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ὡς
εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν.

1. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί, πῶς ἂν ἐσώθημεν ἄνθρωποι, βλέποντες αὐτόν; "Οτι τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ εἶναι ἡλίον, ἔργον χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα, βλέποντες, οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν εἰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι. Barnab. Epist. c. v. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. i. p. 16.

2. Λέγει τῷ Υἱῷ· Ποιήσωμεν, κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμῶν, τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Barnab. Epist. c. vi. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. i. p. 19.

3. Filius quidem Dei omni creatura antiquior est, ita ut in consilio Patri suo adfuerit ad condendam creaturam. Herm. Past. lib. iii. simil. 9. § 12. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. i. p. 118.

4. Καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ, ὃ φίλοι, εἶπε καὶ διὰ Μωσέως ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος, μηνύων ἡμῖν, ὃν ἐδήλωσε, τὸν Θεὸν λέγειν τούτῳ αὐτῷ τῷ νοήματι ἐπὶ τῆς ποιήσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, λέγων ταῦτα· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν.—

Καὶ, ὅπως μὴ ἀλλάσσοντες τοὺς προλελεγμένους λόγους ἐκεῖνα λέγητε ἃ οἱ διδάσκαλοι ὑμῶν λέγουσιν, ἢ ὅτι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θεὸς, Ποιήσωμεν, ὅποιον καὶ ἡμεῖς, μέλλοντές τι ποιεῖν, πολλάκις πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς λέγομεν, Ποιήσωμεν· ἢ ὅτι πρὸς τὰ στοιχεῖα, τουτέστι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως, ἐξ ὧν νοοῦμεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγενῆσθαι, Θεὸν εἰρηκέναι, Ποιήσωμεν· λόγους τοὺς εἰρημένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μωσέως πάλιν ἱστορήσω, ἐξ ὧν ἀναμφιέκτως πρὸς τινὰ καὶ ἀριθμῷ ὄντα ἕτερον, λογικὸν ὑπάρχοντα, ὡμιληκέναι αὐτὸν ἐπιγινῶναι ἔχομεν.

Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι· Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ἴδου, Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ὡς εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν, τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν.

Οὐκοῦν εἰπὼν, Ὡς εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀριθμὸν τοῖς ἀλλήλοις συνόντων, καὶ τὸ ἐλάχιστον δύο, μεμήνηκεν; Οὐ γὰρ, ὅπερ ἡ παρ' ὑμῖν λεγομένη αἵρεσις δογματίζει, φαίην ἂν ἐγὼ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, ἢ οὐ ἐκείνης διδάσκαλοι ἀποδείξαι δύνανται, ὅτι ἀγγέλοις ἔλεγεν, ἢ ὅτι ἀγγέλων ποίημα ἦν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἀνθρώπειον· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τὸ τῷ ὄντι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς προβληθὲν γέννημα πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων συνῆν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Πατὴρ προσομιλεῖ· ὡς ὁ λόγος διὰ τοῦ Σολομῶνος ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι καὶ ἀρχὴ πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων τοῦτ' αὐτὸ καὶ γέννημα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγεγέννητο, ὃ Σοφία διὰ Σολομῶνος καλεῖται. Justin. Martyr. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 221, 222.

5. Καὶ πάλιν, ὅταν λέγῃ ὁ λόγος εἰρηκέναι τὸν Θεὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ, Ἴδου Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ὡς εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν· τὸ δὲ, Ὡς εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀριθμοῦ δηλωτικόν ἐστιν.—

Ὅτι γεγεννησθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦτο τὸ γέννημα πρὸ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν κτισμάτων, ὁ λόγος ἐδήλου· καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον τοῦ γεννῶντος ἀριθμῷ ἕτερόν ἐστι, πᾶς ὁστισοῦν ὁμολογήσειε. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 281.

6. Homo est autem temperatio animæ et carnis, qui secundum similitudinem Dei formatus est et per manus ejus plasmatus est: hoc est, per Filium et Spiritum, quibus et dixit;

Faciamus hominem. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. in præfat. p. 232.

7. Non angeli fecerunt nos, nec nos plasmaverunt; nec angeli potuerunt imaginem facere Dei; nec alius quis, præter Verbum Domini; nec Virtus longè absistens a Patre universorum. Nec enim indigebat horum Deus ad faciendum quæ ipse apud se præfinierat fieri, quasi ipse suas non haberet manus. Adest enim ei semper Verbum et Sapientia, Filius et Spiritus, per quos et in quibus omnia liberè et spontè fecit: ad quos et loquitur, dicens; *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.* Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 37. p. 266.

8. Glorificabitur autem Deus in suo plasmate, conforme illud et consequens suo Puero (τῷ Παιδὶ αὐτοῦ) adaptans. Per manus enim Patris, id est per Filium et Spiritum, fit homo *secundum similitudinem Dei.* Iren. adv. hæ. lib. v. c. 8. p. 322.

9. Idem ipse, qui ab initio plasmavit Adam, cum quo et loquebatur Pater, *Faciamus hominem secundum imaginem et similitudinem nostram,* in novissimis temporibus semetipsum manifestans hominibus, ei, qui ab Adam cæcus fuerat, formavit visionem. Et, propter hoc, Scriptura, significans quod futurum erat, ait, abscondito Adam propter inobedientiam, Dominum venisse vespere ad eum, et dixisse: *Ubi es?* Hoc est, quoniam in novissimis temporibus ad ipsum venit Verbum Dei advocare hominem, recommemorans in eo opera sua, in quibus degens absconditus fuerat Domino. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. v. c. 14. § 2. p. 336, 337.

10. Ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς Παιδαγωγὸς, ἡ Σοφία, ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ δημιουργήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὅλου κήδεται τοῦ πλάσματος. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i. c. 2. Oper. p. 81.

11. Sic enim præfatio Patris ad Filium: *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram. Et fecit hominem Deus,* id utique quod finxit, *ad imaginem Dei fecit illum,* scilicet Christi. Et Sermo enim Deus: qui, *in effigie Dei constitutus,* non rapinam existimavit paritari Deo. Tertull. de resurr. carn. § 5. Oper. p. 49.

12. Si te adhuc numerus scandalizat Trinitatis quasi non connexæ in unitate simplici, interrogo, quomodo unicus et singularis pluraliter loquitur; *FACIAMUS hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem* NOSTRAM: cum debuerit dixisse; *FACIAM hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem* MEAM; utpote unicus et singularis? Sed et, in sequentibus; *Ecce Adam factus est tanquam* UNUS EX NOBIS: fallit aut ludit, ut, cum unus et solus et singularis esset, numerosè loqueretur. Aut nunquid angelis loquebatur, ut Judæi interpretantur, quia nec ipsi Filium agnoscunt: an quia ipse erat Pater, Filius, Spiritus, ideo pluralem se præstans, pluraliter sibi loquebatur? Ino quia jam adhærebat illi Filius, secunda persona, Sermo ipsius; et tertia, Spiritus in Sermone: ideo pluraliter pronunciavit, *FACIAMUS* et *NOSTRAM* et *NOBIS*. Cum quibus enim faciebat hominem, et quibus faciebat similem? Filio quidem, qui erat induiturus hominem; Spiritu vero, qui erat sanctificaturus hominem: quasi cum ministris et arbitris, ex unitate Trinitatis, loquebatur. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 9. Oper. p. 412.

13. Quis enim non secundam Filii post Patrem agnoscat esse personam, cum legat dictum a Patre consequenter ad Filium; *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram: et post hæc relatum; Et fecit Deus hominem, ad imaginem Dei fecit illum?* Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 617.

14. Ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, ὁ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, εἰ καὶ νεωστὶ ἐνηνθρωπήκεναι ἔδοξεν, ἀλλ' οὐτι γε διὰ τοῦτο νέος ἐστί. Πρεσβύτατον γὰρ αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν δημιουργημάτων ἴσασιν οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι· καὶ αὐτῷ τὸν Θεὸν, περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργίας, εἰρηκέναι· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. p. 257.

15. Ὁ δὲ ἐντελλόμενος ἐτέρῳ ἐντέλλεται τινί· ὃν οὐκ ἄλλον πεπείσμεθα ἢ τὸν μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸν, ᾧ καὶ εἶπε· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν. Concil. Antioch. Epist. ad Paul. Samos. apud Routh. Rel. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 466.

TEXT II.

PSALM lxxii. 5.

Καὶ συμπαραμενεῖ τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σελήνης γενεὰς γενεῶν.

Καὶ Δαβὶδ δὲ πρὸ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἐκ γαστρὸς γεννηθήσεται αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς βουλὴν ἐκήρυξε· καὶ Θεὸν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ προσκυνητὸν, Χριστὸν ὄντα, ἐδήλωσε. Just. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 235. Comp. Ibid. p. 224.

TEXT III.

PSALM cx. i.

Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

Animadvertite etiam Spiritum loquentem ex tertia persona de Patre et Filio : *Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede ad dexteram meam, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.* Tertull. adv. Prax. § 9. p. 412.

TEXT IV.

ESAII. liii. 8.

Τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται;

1. *Generationem ejus quis enarrabit ? quoniam homo est : et Quis agnoscet eum ? Cognoscit autem illum is, cui Pater qui est*

in coelis revelavit : at intelligat, quoniam is, qui non voluntate carnis neque ex voluntate viri natus est filius hominis, hic est Christus Filius Dei vivi. Quoniam enim nemo in totum ex filiis Adæ Deus appellatur secundum eum, ut Dominus nominatur, ex Scripturis demonstravimus : quoniam ipse propriè, præter omnes qui fuerunt tunc homines, *Deus*, et *Dominus*, et *Rex æternus et unigenitus*, et *Verbum incarnatum* prædicatum, adest videre omnibus qui vel modicum de veritate attigerint. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 21. p. 212.

2. Καὶ τὸ Ἑσαΐαν φάναι· Τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται ; ἀνεκδιήγητον ἔχοντα τὸ γένος αὐτὸν ἐδήλου. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ, ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνεκδιήγητον ἔχει τὸ γένος. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 235. Vide etiam Ibid. p. 202, 228.

TEXT V.

ESAI. vii. 14. MATT. i. 23.

Ἴδου ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἑμμανουήλ· ὃ ἐστι μεθερμηνευόμενον, Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός.

1. Εἷς ἰατρός ἐστι, σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθίνη, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. § 7. Cot. Patr. Apos. vol. ii. p. 13.

2. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ, ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαβὶδ, Πνεύματος δὲ Ἁγίου. Ibid. § 18. p. 15.

3. Ἐπι καὶ ἵνα, ὃν τρόπον γέγονεν ἐν κόσμῳ γεννηθεὶς, ἐπιγῶναι ἔχωσιν οἱ πιστεύοντες αὐτῷ ἄνθρωποι, διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἑσαΐου τὸ προφητικὸν Πνεῦμα ὥς μέλλει γίνεσθαι προεφήτευσεν οὕτως.—Ἴδου ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἑμμανουήλ.—Ὅτι μὲν οὖν, ἐν τῷ

γένει τῷ κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε ἀπὸ παρθένου γεγένηται, οὐδὲ λέλεκται γεγεννημένος, ἀλλ' ἢ οὗτος ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστός, πᾶσι φανερόν ἐστιν. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 203.

4. Τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦτον τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸν, ὃς καὶ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου καὶ σελήνης ἦν, καὶ διὰ τῆς παρθένου ταύτης τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δαβὶδ γεννηθῆναι σαρκοποιηθεὶς ὑπέμεινεν. Ibid. p. 204. Vide etiam Ibid. p. 256, 260.

5. "Οτι καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἦν ὁ Μωσεῖ καὶ τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπλῶς πατριάρχαις φανείς καὶ ὁμιλήσας, τῷ τοῦ Πατρὸς θελήματι ὑπηρετῶν, ἀπέδειξα' ὃς καὶ ἄνθρωπος γεννηθῆναι διὰ τῆς παρθένου Μαρίας ἤλθε, καὶ ἐστιν αἰεὶ, ἐρῶ. Οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ δι' οὗ, ὁ Πατὴρ μέλλει καινουργεῖν. Ibid. p. 266.

6. Sed et Matthæus unum et eundem Jesum Christum cognoscens, eam quæ est secundum hominem generationem ejus ex virgine exponens, sicut promisit Deus David, ex fructu ventris ejus et excitaturum se æternum regnum, multo prius Abrahæ eandem faciens promissionem, ait: *Liber generationis Jesus Christi, filii David, filii Abraham.*

Dehinc, ut liberaret mentem nostram a suspitione quæ est circa Joseph, ait: *Christi autem generatio sic erat. Cum esset desponsata mater ejus Joseph, prius quam convenirent, inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu Sancto.*

Dehinc, cum Joseph cogitaret dimittere Mariam quoniam prægnans erat, assistentem ei angelum Dei et dicentem: *Ne timueris assumere Mariam conjugem tuam, quod enim habet in utero, de Spiritu Sancto est. Pariet autem filium, et vocabis nomen ejus Jesum. Hic enim salvabit populum suum a peccatis suis. Hoc autem factum est, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est a Domino per prophetam: Ecce, virgo concipiet in utero, et pariet filium, et vocabunt nomen ejus Emanuel; quod interpretatum est, Nobiscum Deus.*

Manifestè significans, et eam promissionem quæ fuerat ad patres impletam, ex virgine natum Filium Dei, et hunc ipsum esse salvatorem Christum, quem prophetæ prædicaverunt: non

sicut ipsi (scil. Valentiniani hæretici) dicunt, Jesum quidem ipsum esse qui ex Maria sit natus, Christum vero qui desuper descendit.

Cæterum poterat dicere Matthæus ; *Jesû vero generatio sic erat* : sed providens Spiritus Sanctus depravatores, et præmuniens contra fraudulentiam eorum, per Matthæum ait ; *Christi autem generatio sic erat* ; et quoniam *hic est Emanuel* ; ne forte tantum eum hominem putaremus. *Non enim ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex voluntate Dei, Verbum caro factum est* : neque alium quidem Jesum suspicemur fuisse ; sed unum et eundem sciremus Deum esse. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 18. p. 202, 203. Vide etiam Ibid. lib. iii. c. 21. p. 212. c. 24. p. 215.

7. Diligenter igitur significavit Spiritus Sanctus per ea quæ dicta sunt, generationem ejus quæ ex virgine, et substantiam quoniam Deus.

Emanuel enim nomen hoc significat : et manifestat, quoniam homo, in eo quod dicit, *Butyrum et mel manducabit*, et in eo quod *infantem* nominat eum, et *prius quam cognoscat bonum et malum* ; hæc enim omnia sunt hominis infantis.

Quod autem *non consentiet nequitiae, ut eligat bonum*, proprium hoc est Dei : uti non, per hoc quod *manducat butyrum et mel*, nudè solummodo eum hominem intelligeremus ; neque rursus, per nomen *Emanuel*, sine carne eum Deum suspicaremur. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 26. p. 217. Vide etiam Ibid. lib. iv. c. 66. p. 294. lib. v. c. 17. p. 340, 341.

8. Nasci se Deus in utero patitur matris. Tertull. de patient. Oper. p. 8.

9. Ante omnia autem commendanda erit ratio quæ præfuit, ut Dei Filius de virgine nasceretur. Novè nasci debebat novæ nativitatis dedicator. De qua signum daturus Dominus ab Esaia prædicabatur.

Quid est istud signum ? *Ecce virgo concipiet in utero, et pariet filium.*

Concepit ergo virgo, et peperit Emanuele, *Nobiscum Deum*. Hæc est nativitas nova dum homo nascitur in Deo :

in quo homine Deus natus est. Tertull. de carn. Christ. § 11. Oper. p. 34. Vide etiam Tertull. de resurr. carn. § 15. Oper. p. 58. Tertull. adv. Jud. Oper. p. 129. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iii. p. 203.

10. Quoniam enim Esaias, *Ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium, et vocabitis nomen ejus Emmanuel*; quod interpretatum est *Nobiscum Deus*: sic Christus ipse dicit; *Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem seculi*.

Est ergo nobiscum Deus, imo multo magis etiam in nobis est. Nobiscum est Christus: est ergo, cujus nomen est *Nobiscum Deus*; quia et nobiscum est.—

Sed, quoniam nobiscum est, *Emmanuel*, id est *Nobiscum Deus*, dictus est. Deus, ergo, quia nobiscum est; *Nobiscum Deus* dictus est. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 607.

11. Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν. Ποῖον οὖν σημεῖον, τὸ, νεάνιδα μὴ παρθένον τεκεῖν; Καὶ τίνι μᾶλλον ἀρμόζει γεννηῆσαι Ἐμμανουήλ, τουτέστι, Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός, ἃρα γυναικὶ συνουσιασθείσῃ, καὶ διὰ πάθους γυναικεῖον συλλαβούσῃ, ἣ ἔτι καθαρᾷ καὶ ἀγνῇ καὶ παρθένῳ; Ταύτῃ γὰρ πρέπει γεννᾶν γέννημα, ἐφ' ᾧ τεχθέντι λέγεται τὸ, Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 27, 28.

TEXT VI.

MATT. ii. 11.

Καὶ, πεσόντες, προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ· καὶ, ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῶν, προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δῶρα, χρυσὸν καὶ λίβανόν καὶ σμύρναν.

1. Τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀράβιας οὖν μάγων ἐλθόντων εἰς Βηθλεὲμ, καὶ προσκυνησάντων τὸ παιδίον, καὶ προσενεγκάντων αὐτῷ δῶρα, χρυσὸν καὶ λίβανόν καὶ σμύρναν, ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μετὰ τὸ προσκυνῆσαι τὸν παῖδα ἐν Βηθλεὲμ, ἐκελεύσθησαν μὴ ἐπανελ-

θεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 236. Vide etiam Ibid. p. 257.

2. Matthæus autem Magos ab oriente venientes ait dixisse ; *Vidimus enim stellam ejus in oriente, et venimus adorare eum* : deductosque a stella in domum Jacob ad Emanuel, per ea quæ obtulerunt munera, ostendisse, quid erat qui adorabatur. Myrrha quidem ; quod ipse erat qui pro mortali humano genere moreretur et sepeliretur : aurum vero ; quoniam rex, cujus regni finis non est : thus, vero ; quoniam Deus, qui et notus in Judæa factus est, et manifestus eis qui non quærebant eum. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 10. p. 180.

3. Ἦκον οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν (scil. οἱ Μάγοι), ὅτι μὲν βασιλεύς τις γεγένηται πειθόμενοι, τίνα δὲ βασιλείαν βασιλεύσων οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι, ἢ ποῦ γεννηθήσεται οὐ γινώσκοντες· φέροντες μὲν δῶρα, ἃ (ἵν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω) συνθέτω τινὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου θνητοῦ προσήνεγκαν σύμβολα μὲν, ὥς βασιλεῖ τὸν χρυσὸν, ὥς δὲ τεθνηξομένην τὴν σμύρναν, ὥς δὲ Θεῷ τὸν λιβανωτόν· προσήνεγκαν δὲ, μαθόντες τὸν τόπον τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ ὑπὲρ τοὺς βοηθοῦντας ἀνθρώποις ἀγγέλους ἐννάρχων Σωτῆρ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἄγγελος ἡμείψατο τὴν τῶν Μάγων ἐπὶ προσκυνῆσαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν εὐσέβειαν. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 46.

TEXT VII.

MATT. xvi. 16.

Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος εἶπε· Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος.

1. Digitus est Dei qui salutem operatur populo, et non Josephi filius. Si enim Josephi filius esset, quomodo plus poterat quam Salomon, aut plus quam Jona habere, aut plus esse David ; cum esset ex eadem seminatione generatus et proles existens ipsorum ? Ut quid autem et beatum dicebat Petrum,

quod eum cognosceret esse Filium Dei vivi? Super hoc autem, nec rex esse posset, siquidem Josephi filius fuisset, nec hæres, secundum Hieremiam. Iren. adv. hæres. lib. iii. c. 29. p. 219. Vide etiam Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi. Oper. p. 680.

2. Υἱὸν οὖν ἀνθρώπου ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν, ἥτοι ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως τῆς διὰ παρθένου, ἥτις ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαβὶδ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ γένους· ἡ διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ πατέρα καὶ τούτων τῶν κατηριθμημένων, ἐξ ὧν κατάγει ἡ Μαρία τὸ γένος. — Καὶ γὰρ Υἱὸν Θεοῦ Χριστὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀποκάλυψιν, ἐπιγινόντα αὐτὸν, ἓνα τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, Σίμωνα πρότερον καλούμενον, ἐπωνόμασε Πέτρον. Καὶ, Υἱὸν Θεοῦ γεγραμμένον αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες, καὶ Υἱὸν αὐτὸν λέγοντες, νενοήκαμεν ὄντα καὶ πρὸ πάντων ποιημάτων, ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς δυνάμει αὐτοῦ καὶ βουλῇ προελθόντα. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 255.

TEXT VIII.

MATT. xxviii. 19.

Πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος.

1. Ecclesiæ Catholicæ matris nostræ veritas semper apud nos, fratres, et mansit et manet, et vel maximè in baptismatis Trinitate; Domino nostro dicente: *Ite et baptizate gentes, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.* Concil. Carthag. can. x. in Oper. Cyprian. vol. i. p. 232.

2. Fidem nostram, et baptismatis gratiam, et legis ecclesiasticæ regulam, Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus, suo ore Apostolos docens, perimplevit, dicens: *Ite et docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.* Concil. Carthag. can. xxix. in Oper. Cyprian. vol. i. p. 235.

3. Dominus enim post resurrectionem, discipulos suos mittens, quemadmodum baptizare deberent instituit et docuit, dicens: *Data est mihi omnis potestas in cælo et in terra: ite ergo, et docete gentes omnes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.* Insinuat Trinitatem, cujus sacramento gentes baptizarentur. Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 200. Vide etiam Ibid. p. 206.

TEXT IX.

MARC. ii. 7.

Τί οὗτος οὕτω λαλεῖ βλασφημίας; Τίς δύναται ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας, εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός;

1. Propter hoc, non credentibus quæ ab eo fiat remissionem, Pharisæis dicebat: *Ut sciatis, quoniam potestatem habet Filius hominis remittere peccata.* Et cum hoc dixisset, jussit paralyticum hominem tollere grabbatum super quem jacebat, et ire in domum suam.

Propter hoc quidem efficit, confundens incredulos, et significans quoniam ipse est Vox Dei, per quam accepit homo præcepta quæ supergressus est et factus est peccator: ex peccatis enim paralysis subsequuta est. Peccata igitur remittens, hominem quidem curavit, semetipsum autem manifestè ostendit quis esset. Si, enim, nemo potest remittere peccata nisi solus Deus; remittebat autem hæc Dominus, et curabat homines: manifestum est, quoniam ipse erat Verbum Dei, filius hominis factus a Patre potestatem accipiens, quomodo homo, et quomodo Deus. Et, quomodo homo, compassus est nobis: tanquam Deus, misereatur nostri, et remittat nobis debita quæ factori nostro debemus Deo. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. v. c. 15. p. 338.

2. Hic erat visus Babylonio regi in fornace cum martyribus suis quartus, tanquam filius hominis, idem ipsi Danieli revelatus

directo filius hominis, veniens cum cœli nubibus iudex, sicut et Scriptura demonstrat.

Sed plus mihi Scriptura confert, ipsius scilicet Domini interpretatione. Nam, cum Judæi, solummodo hominem ejus intuentes, necdum et Deum certi qua Dei quoque Filium, merito retractarent, *non posse hominem delicta dimittere, sed Deum solum* : cur non, secundum intentionem eorum de homine, eis respondit, *habere eum potestatem dimittendi delicta, quando et filium hominis nominans hominem nominaret?* Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. § 14. Oper. p. 234.

3. Ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς Παιδαγωγὸς, ἡ Σοφία, ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ δημιουργήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὅλου κήδεται τοῦ πλάσματος· καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀκεῖται αὐτοῦ ὁ παναρκὴς τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἰατρός ὁ Σωτήρ. Ἀνάστα, φησὶ τῷ παρειμένῳ, τὸν σκίμποδα ἐφ' ὃν κατάκεισαι λαβὼν, ἅπιθι οἴκαδε.—Ἀλλὰ ταῖς μὲν ὑποθήκαις τάχα δὴ μέλει, χαρίσμασι δὲ πλούσιος, Ἀφένονται σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς ἡμῖν λέγει. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i. c. 2. Oper. p. 81.

TEXT X.

LUC. i. 30—35.

Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτῇ· Μὴ φοβοῦ, Μαριάμ· εὗρες γὰρ χάριν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ. Καὶ, ἰδὼν, συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν· καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν. Οὗτος ἔσται μέγας· καὶ Υἱὸς Ὑψίστου κληθήσεται· καὶ δώσει αὐτῷ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν θρόνον Δαβὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ· εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. Εἶπε δὲ Μαριάμ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον· Πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω; Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπεν αὐτῇ· Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σε, καὶ δύναμις Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι· διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται Υἱὸς Θεοῦ.

1. Ἔχομεν ἱατρὸν καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων Υἱὸν μονογενῆ καὶ Λόγον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. Ὁ Λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο· ὁ ἀσώματος ἐν σώματι, ὁ ἀπαθὴς ἐν παθητῷ σώματι, ὁ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ σώματι, ἡ ζωὴ ἐν φθορᾷ, ὅπως θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ καὶ ἰατρεύσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἰάσῃται αὐτὰς νοσηλευθείσας ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ πονηραῖς ἐπιθυμίαις. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. § vii. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. ii. p. 46.

2. Πίστιν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἡ παρθένος, εὐαγγελιζομένου αὐτῇ Γαβριὴλ ἀγγέλου, ὅτι Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐπελεύσεται, καὶ δύναμις Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει αὐτήν· διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἅγιόν ἐστιν, Υἱὸς Θεοῦ. Ἀπεκρίνατο· Γένοιτο μοι κατὰ τὸ ῥημά σου. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 256.

3. Lucas autem sectator et discipulus apostolorum,—de angelo referens, ait: In ipso autem tempore missus est angelus Gabriel a Deo, qui et dixit virgini; *Noli timere, Maria: invenisti enim gratiam apud Deum.* Et de Domino dicit: *Hic erit magnus; et Filius Altissimi vocabitur; et dabit ei Dominus Deus thronum David patris sui; et regnabit in domo Jacob; et regni ejus non erit finis.*

Quis est autem alius, qui regnat in domo Jacob sine intermissione in æternum, nisi Christus Jesus Dominus noster Filius Dei Altissimi: qui, per legem et prophetas, promisit salutare suum facturum se omni carni visibilem, ut fieret filius hominis, ad hoc ut et homo fieret Filius Dei? Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 11. p. 181. Vide etiam Ibid. lib. iii. c. 26. p. 217. c. 18. p. 203.

4. Hic est Virtus Dei, hic Ratio, hic Sapientia ejus, et Gloria. Hic in virginem illabitur: carnem, Spiritu Sancto coöperante, induitur. Deus cum homine miscetur. Hic Deus noster, hic Christus est, qui mediator duorum, hominem induit, quem perducatur ad Patrem. Cyprian. de idol. vanit. Oper. vol. i. p. 15.

5. Hæc et ab angelo exceperat secundum nostrum evangelium: *Propterea, quod in te nascetur, vocabitur sanctum Filius*

Dei; et vocabis nomen ejus Jesum. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. § 7. Oper. p. 229.

6. Proponunt enim atque illa prætendunt, quæ in evangelio Lucae relata sunt; ex quibus asserere conantur, non quod est, sed tantum illud quod volunt esse: *Spiritus Sanctus veniet in te; et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi: propterea, et quod ex te nascetur sanctum vocabitur Filius Dei.*—Hic est enim legitimus Dei Filius qui ex ipso Deo est; qui dum sanctum istud assumit, et sibi filium hominis annēctit, et illum ad se rapit atque transducit, connexionē suā et permixtionē sociatā præstat, et Filium illum Dei facit quod ille naturaliter non fuit. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 614, 615.

7. Μεταχαράξαντας δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἄλλους οὐκ οἶδα, ἢ τοὺς ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου, οἶμαι ἔξ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Λουκάνου. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. ii. p. 77. Vide etiam Orig. Comment. in Johan. Oper. vol. ii. p. 13, 33, 76, 84, 105, 106, 109, 110, 124, 138, 139.

TEXT XI.

LUC. x. 22.

Πάντα παρεδόθη μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς μου· καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱὸς, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατὴρ· καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Πατὴρ, εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱὸς, καὶ ὃ ἂν βούληται ὁ Υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι. Comp. Matt. xi. 27.

1. Καὶ Ἰησοῦς δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν Ἰουδαῖοι τί Πατὴρ καὶ τί Υἱὸς, ὁμοίως ἐλέγχων αὐτοὺς, καὶ αὐτὸς εἶπεν· Οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν Πατέρα, εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱὸς· οὐδὲ τὸν Υἱὸν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατὴρ, καὶ οἷς ἂν ἀποκαλύψῃ ὁ Υἱὸς. Ὁ Λόγος δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.—

Ἰουδαῖοι οὖν, ἡγησάμενοι ἀεὶ τὸν Πατέρα τῶν ὅλων λελαληκέναι τῷ Μωσεῖ, τοῦ λαλήσαντος αὐτῷ ὅντος Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃς

καὶ ἄγγελος καὶ ἀπόστολος κέκληται, δικαίως ἐλέγχονται καὶ διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ Πνεύματος καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὥς οὔτε τὸν Πατέρα οὔτε τὸν Υἱὸν ἔγνωσαν. Οἱ γὰρ τὸν Υἱὸν Πατέρα φάσκοντες εἶναι, ἐλέγχονται μήτε τὸν Πατέρα ἐπιστάμενοι, μήθ' ὅτι ἐστὶν Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων γινώσκοντες· ὅς καὶ, Λόγος πρωτότοκος ὢν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Θεὸς ὑπάρχει.

Καὶ πρότερον, διὰ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς μορφῆς, καὶ εἰκόνος ἀσωμάτου, τῷ Μωσεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις προφήταις ἐφάνη· νῦν δ', ἐν χρόνοις τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς, διὰ παρθένου ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς βουλήν, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν πιστεύοντων αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐξουθενηθῆναι καὶ παθεῖν ὑπέμεινεν, ἵνα ἀποθανὼν καὶ ἀναστὰς νικήσῃ τὸν θάνατον. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 74, 75. Vide etiam Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 255.

2. Dominus enim, ostendens seipsum discipulis, quoniam ipse est Verbum qui agnitionem Patris facit, et exprobrans Judæis putantibus se habere Deum cum et frustretur Verbum ejus per quem cognoscitur Deus, dicebat: *Nemo cognoscit Filium, nisi Pater: neque Patrem quis cognoscit, nisi Filius, et cui voluerit Filius revelare.*

Quoniam ab uno Deo, qui et hunc mundum fecit, et nos plasmavit, et omnia continet et administrat, unigenitus Filius venit ad nos, suum plasma in semetipsum recapitulans, firma est mea ad eum fides, et immobilis erga Patrem dilectio, utraque Deo nobis præbente: neque enim Patrem cognoscere quis potest, nisi Verbo Dei, id est, nisi Filio revelante; neque Filium, nisi Patris beneplacito—Non ergo alius erat qui cognoscebatur, et alius qui dicebat, *Nemo cognoscit Patrem*; sed unus et idem: omnia subjiciente ei Patre, et ab omnibus accipiens testimonium, quoniam verè homo et quoniam verè Deus, a Patre, a Spiritu, et ab angelis, ab ipsa conditione, ab hominibus, et ab apostaticis spiritibus, et ab erroneis, et ab inimico, et novissimè ab ipsa morte. Omnia autem Filius administrans Patri perficit ab initio usque ad finem; et, sine illo, nemo potest cognoscere Deum. Agnitio enim Patris Filius, agnitio autem Filii in Patre et per Filium revelata: et, propter hoc, Dominus dicebat; *Nemo cognoscit Filium nisi Pater, neque Patrem nisi*

Filius et quibuscunque Filius revelaverit. Revelaverit, enim, non solum in futurum dictum est; quasi tunc inciperet Verbum manifestare Patrem cum de Maria natus: sed communiter, per totum tempus, positum est. Ab initio, enim, assistens Filius suo plasmati, revelat omnibus Patrem, quibus vult, et quando vult, et quemadmodum vult, Pater: et, propter hoc, in omnibus et per omnia, unus Deus Pater, et unum Verbum, et unus Filius, et unus Spiritus, et una fides et salus omnibus credentibus in eum. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 14. p. 240—242.

3. Cognoscunt enim eum hi, quibus revelaverit Filius: semper autem cōexistens Filius Patri, olim et ab initio, semper revelat Patrem et angelis et archangelis et potestatibus et virtutibus et hominibus quibus vult revelare Deus. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. ii. c. 55. p. 157.

4. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ Κύριος, Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ μέγεθος παριστὰς τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὅτι κατ' ἀξίαν προηγουμένως αὐτῷ μόνῳ λαμβάνεται καὶ γινώσκεται, δευτέρως δὲ τοῖς ἐλλαμπομένοις τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ, φησὶν· Οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν Υἱὸν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ· οὐδὲ τὸν Πατέρα, εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱὸς, καὶ ὃ ἂν ὁ Υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ. Οὔτε γὰρ τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ πάσης γεννητῆς φύσεως πρωτότοκον κατ' ἀξίαν εἰδέναι τίς δύναται, ὥς ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν Πατήρ· οὔτε τὸν Πατέρα, ὥς ὁ ἔμψυχος Λόγος καὶ Σοφία αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀλήθεια· οὗ μετοχῇ περιαιρουντος ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ λεγόμενον σκότος, ὃ ἔθετο ἀποκρυφῆν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄβυσσον, καὶ ἀποκαλύπτοντος οὕτω τὸν Πατέρα ὅτι ποτ' ἂν χωρῇ γινώσκειν αὐτὸν γινώσκει. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi. p. 287.

TEXT XII.

JOHAN. i. 1—14.

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος. Οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· καὶ, χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν,

ὁ γέγονεν. Ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν. Ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ Θεοῦ, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης. Οὗτος ἦλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν, ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός, ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσι δι' αὐτοῦ. Οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός. Ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον. Ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω. Εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθε, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον· ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτὸν, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Οἱ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων, οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς, οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ, ἐγεννήθησαν. Καὶ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν (καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ Πατρὸς), πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας.

1. Ἡ δὲ πρώτη δύναμις, μετὰ τὸν Πατέρα πάντων καὶ δεσπότην Θεὸν, καὶ Υἱὸς, ὁ Λόγος ἐστίν· ὃς τινα τρόπον σαρκοποιηθεὶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν. Just. Apol. i. Oper. p. 57. Vide etiam Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 221—223.

2. Super omnia quidem Pater ; et ipse est caput Christi : per omnia autem Verbum, et ipse est caput ecclesiæ : in omnibus autem nobis Spiritus ; et ipse est aqua viva.

Testimonium perhibet his et Joannes Domini discipulus in evangelio, dicens : *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil.*

Deinde de ipso Verbo dixit : *In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognovit.*

Et, iterum, significans ejus secundum hominem dispensationem, dixit : *Et Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis.*

Et iterum intulit : *Et vidimus gloriam ejus gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre, plenum gratia et veritate.*

Manifestè ostendens audire volentibus, quoniam unus Deus Pater super omnes ; et unum Verbum Dei per quod omnes, per quem omnia facta sunt : et quoniam hic mundus proprius ipsius, et per ipsum factus est voluntate Patris, et non per angelos.—Mundi enim factor vere Verbum Dei est : hic autem est Dominus noster, qui in novissimis temporibus homo factus est. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. v. c. 16. p. 340. Vide etiam lib. i. c. 19. p. 74. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 97, 98. lib. iii. c. 8. p. 178. c. 11. p. 187. lib. iv. c. 17. p. 243.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν ἓνα Θεὸν ἄγει τὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς ποιητὴν, αὐτὸν μὲν οὐ γενόμενον (ὅτι τὸ ὄν οὐ γίνεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ὄν), πάντα δὲ διὰ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ Λόγου πεποιηκότα· ἐκάτερα ἀλόγως πάσχομεν, καὶ κακῶς ἀγορευόμεθα καὶ διωκόμεθα. Athenag. Legat. § v. p. 21, 22.

4. Νοοῦμεν γὰρ καὶ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.—Ἄλλ' ἔστιν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐν ιδέᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ· πρὸς αὐτοῦ γὰρ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, πάντα ἐγένετο· ἑνὸς ὄντος τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· ὄντος δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν Πατρὶ, καὶ Πατρὸς ἐν Υἱῷ, ἐνότητι καὶ δυνάμει Πνεύματος. Νοῦς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Athenag. Legat. § ix. p. 37, 38.

5. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν συμφώνως ἐδίδαξαν ἡμᾶς, ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν. Οὐ γάρ τι τῷ Θεῷ συνήκμασεν· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τόπος ὢν, καὶ ἀνενδεὴς ὢν, καὶ ὑπερέχων πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, ἠθέλησεν ἄνθρωπον ποιῆσαι ᾧ γνωσθῇ· τούτῳ οὖν προητοίμασε τὸν κόσμον. Ὁ γὰρ γενητὸς καὶ προσδεής ἐστιν· ὁ δὲ ἀγέννητος οὐδενὸς προσδεΐται. Ἐχων οὖν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Λόγον ἐνδιάθετον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις σπλάγχνοις, ἐγέννησεν αὐτὸν, μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ Σοφίας ἐξερευζάμενος πρὸ τῶν ὅλων. Τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον ἔσχευεν ὑπουργὸν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένων· καὶ, δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ πάντα πεποίηκεν. Theoph. ad Autol. lib. ii. § 10. p. 355.

6. Οὐχ ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ μυθογράφοι λέγουσιν υἱοὺς θεῶν ἐκ συνουσίας γεννωμένους, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθεία διηγεῖται, τὸν Λόγον τὸν ὄντα διαπαντὸς ἐνδιάθετον ἐν καρδίᾳ Θεοῦ. Πρὸ γὰρ τι γίνεσθαι, τοῦτον εἶχε σύμβουλον, ἑαυτοῦ Νοῦν καὶ Φρόνησιν ὄντα.

Ὅποτε δὲ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἐβουλεύσατο, τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον ἐγέννησε προφορικόν, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως· οὐ κενωθείς αὐτὸς τοῦ Λόγου, ἀλλὰ Λόγον γεννήσας, καὶ τῷ Λόγῳ αὐτοῦ διαπαντὸς ὁμιλῶν. "Οθεν διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς αἱ ἅγαι γραφαί, καὶ πάντες οἱ πνευματοφόροι, ἐξ ὧν Ἰωάννης λέγει· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· δεικνύς, ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις μόνος ἦν ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ Λόγος. Ἐπειτα λέγει· Καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος· πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν. Theoph. ad Autol. lib. ii. § 22. p. 365.

7. Οὐδὲν ἄρα μισεῖ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου· ἔν γὰρ ἄμφω, ὁ Θεός. "Οτι εἶπεν· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ Λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i. c. 8. Oper. p. 113.

8. Παρρησία δὲ, ὅτι Θεὸς καὶ δημιουργός· Πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i. c. 11. Oper. p. 133.

9. Ἀνευδεῖς γὰρ, ὁ τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν Λόγον ἔχων· καὶ οὐδενός, ὧν χρῆζει, ἀπορεῖ πότε. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. iii. c. 7. Oper. p. 236, 237.

10. Aspice, itaque, quanta præscribant tibi, etiam in evangelio ante Philippi consultationem, et ante omnem argumentationem tuam : et in primis ipsa statim præfatio Joannis evangelizatoris demonstrat, quod retro fuerit qui caro fieri habebat : *In principio erat Sermo, et Sermo erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Sermo. Hic in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil.* Tertull. adv. Prax. § 14. Oper. p. 420. Vide etiam Ibid. p. 405.

11. Denique evangelium, ut supplementum instrumenti veteris, adhibebo ; in quo vel eo magis debuerat ostendi Deus ex aliqua materia universa fecisse, quo illic etiam per quem omnia fecerit revelatur.

In principio erat Sermo : in quo principio scilicet Deus fecit cælum et terram. *Et Sermo erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Sermo. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine illo factum est nihil.*

Cum igitur et hic manifestetur, et factor id est Deus, et facta

id est omnia, et per quem id est Sermo : nonne et unde omnia facta essent a Deo per Sermonem, exegisset ordo profiteri, si ex aliquo facta essent? Tertull. adv. Hermog. § 10. Oper. p. 344, 345.

12. Ac sic et Joannes, nativitatem Christi describens, *Verbum*, inquit, *caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis, et vidimus claritatem ejus claritatem tanquam unigeniti a Patre, plenus gratia et veritate.*

Nam et vocat nomen ejus *Verbum Dei*; nec immerito.—*Per ipsum enim omnia facta sunt opera, et sine ipso factum est nihil. Sive enim, inquit apostolus, throni, sive dominationes, sive virtutes, sive potestates, visibilia et invisibilia, omnia per ipsum constant.*

Verbum autem hoc illud est, quod in sua venit, et sui eum non receperunt. Mundus enim per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognovit.

Verbum autem hoc erat in principio apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum.

Quis igitur dubitet, cum in extrema parte dicit, *Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis*, Christum, cujus est nativitas et quia caro factus est, esse hominem; et, quia Verbum Dei, Deum incunctanter edicere esse: præsertim cum animadvertat scripturam evangelicam, utramque istam substantiam in unam nativitatis Christi fœderasse concordiam? Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 608. Vide etiam Ibid. p. 622, 623.

13. Τὸν μὲν προσεχῶς δημιουργὸν εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, καὶ ὥσπερ αὐτουργὸν τοῦ κόσμου· τὸν δὲ Πατέρα τοῦ λόγου, τῷ προστεταχέναι τῷ Υἱῷ ἑαυτοῦ Λόγῳ ποιῆσαι τὸν κόσμον, εἶναι πρῶτως δημιουργόν. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi. p. 317.

14. Τίς δ' ἄλλος σῶσαι καὶ προσαγαγεῖν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ δύναται τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν, ἢ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος; Ὅστις ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὢν, διὰ τοὺς κολληθέντας τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ γενομένους ὅπερ σὰρξ, ἐγένετο σὰρξ, ἵνα χωρηθῇ ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ δυνάμενων αὐτὸν βλέπειν καθὼς Λόγος ἦν, καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἦν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi. p. 322. Vide etiam Ibid. lib. ii.

p. 80. lib. iv. p. 164. et Comment. in Johan. Oper. vol. ii. p. 18, 19.

15. Hujus igitur indulgentiæ, gratiæ disciplinæque arbiter et magister, Sermo et Filius Dei mittitur, qui, per prophetas omnes retro, illuminator et doctor humani generis prædicabatur. Hic est Virtus Dei, hic Ratio, hic Sapientia ejus, et Gloria. Hic in virginem illabitur; carnem, Spiritu Sancto cöoperante, induitur. Deus cum homine miscetur. Hic Deus noster, hic Christus est; qui, mediator duorum, hominem induit quem perducet ad Patrem. Cyprian. de idol. vanit. Oper. vol. i. p. 15.

16. Ἀλλ' εὐσεβῶς ὁμολογεῖ πιστεύων ὅτι, διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὸ δῆσαι πρὸς ἀτρεψίαν τὸ πᾶν, ὁ τῶν ὄλων δημιουργὸς ἐκ τῆς παναγίας ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, κατὰ σύλληψιν ἄχραντον, διχὰ τροπῆς, ἐνουσιώσας ἑαυτῷ ψυχὴν νοερὰν μετὰ αἰσθητικοῦ σώματος, γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος φύσει κακίας ἀλλότριος, ὁ Λόγος Θεός· ὁ αὐτὸς θεότητι μὲν τὰ θεῖα διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ παναγίας σαρκὸς, οὐκ ὄντα φύσει τῆς σαρκὸς ἐνεργῶν· ἀνθρωπότητι δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, οὐκ ὄντα φύσει θεότητος, ἀνοχῇ πάσχων θεότητος. Hippol. cont. Beron. et Helic. c. 8. Oper. vol. i. p. 230.

17. Κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ὅς ἐστι Πατὴρ Χριστοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ· ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ Δύναμις, ἡ τοῦ Πατρὸς Σοφία, ὣν Λόγος ἀίδιος· ἀίδιος γὰρ ὢν γέγονε παιδίον, γεννηθεὶς ἡμῖν Υἱός. Dion. Alex. Epist. adv. Paul. Samos. Oper. p. 207.

18. Μιὰ δὲ μόνη παρθένος θυγάτηρ ζωῆς ἐγέννησε τὸν ζῶντα Λόγον καὶ ἐννόστατον, τὸν ἄκτιστον καὶ δημιουργόν· τὸν ἐλθόντα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἄγνωστον Θεόν, καὶ ὑπερουράνιον Θεόν, οὐρανοῦ ποιητὴν, τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦ κόσμου. Dion. Alex. Epist. adv. Paul. Samos. Oper. p. 211.

19. Ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεννηθεὶς πρὸ αἰώνων, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐκ μητρός. Διὰ τοῦτο θεοκτόνοι Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσάνθρωσαν. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς ὁ ὢν Θεὸς Λόγος, οὐκ ἡδύνατο εἶναι ἀναμάρτητος· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀναμάρτητος, εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Χριστὸς, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Dion. Alex. Epist. adv. Paul. Samos. Oper. p. 214.

20. Υἱὸν δὲ λέγει, ὃν προσκυνεῖ ἡ τῶν ἄνω ἁγίων πνευμάτων πληθὺς, τὸν ἕνα καὶ ἀμέριστον Χριστὸν, τὸν συναῖδιον τοῦ Πατρὸς, συνάναρχον, συνδημιουργὸν τῷ Πατρί· Θεὸς γὰρ Ἰσραὴλ Ἰησοῦς ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Λόγος, ὡς καὶ τὸ "Ἁγίον Πνεῦμα. Dion. Alex. Quæst. adv. Paul. Samos. Oper. p. 244.

21. Ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντος καὶ ἐνεργοῦντος, ὡς Λόγου ἅμα καὶ Θεοῦ· δι' οὗ ὁ Πατὴρ πάντα πεποίηκεν, οὐχ ὡς δι' ὄργανου, οὐδ' ὡς δι' ἐπιστήμης ἀνυποστάτου· γεννήσαντος μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν ὡς ζώσαν ἐνέργειαν καὶ ἐνυπόστατον, ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν· οὐχὶ βλέποντος δὲ μόνον οὐδὲ παρόντος μόνον τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεργοῦντος πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργίαν. Epist. Concil. Antioch. apud Routh. Rel. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 466.

22. Ὁπερ τελεσιουργῆσαι καταπεμφθεῖς ὁ Λόγος εἰς τὸν κόσμον, τὴν ἡμετέραν μορφήν πρότερον ἀνέλαβε πολλοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι κατεστιγμένην, ἵνα δὴ τὴν θεῖαν ἡμεῖς, δι' οὗς αὐτὸς ἐφόρεσε, πάλιν χωρῆσαι δυνηθῶμεν—Ταύτη γὰρ ἡρετίσατο τὴν ἀνθρωπινὴν ἐνδύσασθαι σάρκα, Θεὸς ὢν, ὅπως ὥσπερ ἐν πίνακι θεῖον ἐκτύπωμα βίου βλέποντες, ἔχωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν γράψαντα μιμεῖσθαι. Method. Sympos. Oper. p. 69, 70.

23. Sed illum Filium suum primogenitum, illum opificem rerum et conciliatorem suum, delabi jussit e coelo, ut religionem sanctam Dei transferret ad gentes. Lactant. Instit. lib. iv. c. 11. p. 380.

24. Idcirco etiam Filium bis nasci oportuit, ut ipse fieret ἀπάτωρ atque ἀμήτωρ. In prima enim nativitate spiritali ἀμήτωρ fuit; quia, sine officio matris, a solo Deo Patre generatus est. In secunda vero carnali ἀπάτωρ fuit; quoniam, sine patris officio, virginali utero procreatus est: ut, mediam inter Deum et hominem substantiam gerens, nostram hanc fragilem imbecillemque naturam quasi manu ad immortalitatem posset educere. Factus est et Dei Filius per spiritum, et hominis per carnem: id est, et Deus et homo. Lactant. Instit. lib. iv. c. 13. p. 387, 388.

TEXT XIII.

JOHAN. i. 18.

Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε· ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.

1. Πῶς ἂν οὖν οὗτος (scil. ὁ Πατὴρ) ἢ λαλήσειε πρὸς τινα, ἢ ὀφθείη τινὶ, ἢ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ μέρει γῆς φανείη, ὁπότε γε οὐδὲ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντος ἴσχυεν ὁ λαὸς ἰδεῖν ἐν Σινᾷ;— Οὔτε οὖν Ἀβραὰμ, οὔτε Ἰσαὰκ, οὔτε Ἰακώβ, οὔτε ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων, εἶδε τὸν Πατέρα καὶ ἄρρητον Κύριον τῶν πάντων ἀπλῶς καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐκείνον, τὸν, κατὰ βουλὴν τὴν ἐκείνου, καὶ Θεὸν ὄντα Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἄγγελον ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηρετεῖν τῇ γνῶμῃ αὐτοῦ· ὃν καὶ ἄνθρωπον γεννηθῆναι διὰ τῆς παρθένου βεβούληται· ὃς καὶ πῦρ ποτὲ γέγονε τῇ πρὸς Μωσέα ὁμιλίᾳ τῇ ἀπὸ τῆς βάτου. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 280.

2. Deus, qui fecit terram,—hic et benedictionem escæ et gratiam potus, in novissimis temporibus, per Filium donat humano generi, incomprehensibilis per comprehensibilem, et invisibilis per visibilem, cum extra eum non sit, sed in sinu Patris existat.

Deum enim, inquit, nemo vidit unquam; nisi unigenitus Filius Dei, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit.

Patrem enim, invisibilem existentem, ille, qui in sinu est ejus Filius, omnibus enarrat. Propter hoc cognoscunt eum hi, quibus revelaverit Filius; et iterum Pater, per Filium, Filii sui dat agnitionem his qui diligunt eum. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 11. p. 186.

3. Sed, quoniam qui omnia in omnibus operatur Deus est, qualis est et quantus est, invisibilis et inenarrabilis est omnibus quæ ab eo facta sunt, incognitus autem nequaquam: omnia enim per Verbum ejus discunt, qui est unus Deus Pater qui continet omnia et omnibus esse præstat, quemadmodum in evangelio

scriptum est: *Deum nemo vidit unquam ; nisi unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit.*

Enarrat ergo Filius ab initio Patris, quippe qui ab initio est cum Patre, qui et visiones propheticas et divisiones charismatum et ministeria sua et Patris glorificationem consequenter et compositè ostenderit humano generi apto tempore ad utilitatem.

Visibilem autem rursus hominibus per multas dispositiones ostendens Deum, ne, in totum deficiens, homo cessaret esse. Gloria enim Dei vivens homo, vita autem hominis visio Dei.

Secundum hanc igitur rationem invisibilem videbant Deum. Quemadmodum et Esaias ait: *Regem Dominum sabaoth vidi oculis meis* : significans, quoniam videbit oculis Deum homo, et vocem ejus audiet. Secundum hanc igitur rationem, et Filium Dei hominem videbant conversatum cum hominibus ; id, quod futurum erat, prophetantes ; eum, qui nondum aderat, adesse dicentes ; et impassibilem passibilem annunciantes ; et eum, qui tunc in cœlis, in limum mortis descendisse dicentes.

Et Verbum quidem loquebatur Moysi, apparens in conspectu quemadmodum si quis loquatur ad amicum suum. Moyses vero cupivit manifestè videre eum, qui secum loquebatur : et dictum est ei ; *Sta in loco alto petræ, et manum meam contegam super te. Quando vero transierit claritas mea, tunc videbis quæ sunt posteriora mea. Facies autem mea non videbitur tibi : non enim videt homo faciem meam, et vivet.*

Utraque significans, quoniam et impossibile est homini videre Deum, et quoniam per Sapientiam Dei in novissimis temporibus videbit Deum homo in eo qui est secundum hominem ejus adventus. Et, propter hoc, facie ad faciem confabulatus est cum eo in altitudine montis, assistente etiam Helia, quemadmodum evangelium retulit, restituens in fine pristinam repromissionem. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 37. p. 268, 269. Vide etiam quæ deinceps sequuntur.

4. Visum quidem Deum secundum hominum capacitates, non secundum plenitudinem divinitatis.

Nam patriarchæ Deum vidisse referuntur, ut Abraham et

Isaac; et prophetæ, ut Esaias, ut Ezechiel: et tamen mortui non sunt.

Igitur aut mori debuerant, si eum viderant; *Deum enim nemo videbit, et vivet*: aut, si Deum viderunt, et mortui non sunt; scriptura mentitur Deum dixisse; *Faciem meam homo si viderit, non vivet*: aut scriptura mentitur, cum invisum aut cum visum Deum profert.

Jam ergo alius erit qui videbatur; quia non potest idem invisibilis definiri qui videbatur: et consequens erit, invisibilem Patrem intelligamus pro plenitudine majestatis, visibilem vero Filium agnoscamus pro modulo derivationis: sicut nec solem nobis contemplari licet, quantum ad ipsam substantiæ summam quæ est in cœlis; radium autem ejus toleramus oculis pro temperatura portionis, quæ in terram inde porrigitur.

Ecce enim, et in evangeliis et in apostolis, visibilem et invisibilem Deum deprehendo, sub manifesta et personali distinctione conditionis utriusque.

Exclamat quodammodo Joannes: *Deum nemo vidit unquam*; utique nec retro. Ademit enim temporis quæstionem, dicendo Dominum *nunquam* visum.

Idem ipsi apostoli, et vidisse se Christum, et contrectasse, testantur.—*Et vidimus gloriam ejus tanquam unigeniti a Patre*, utique Filii: scilicet visibilis, glorificati a Patre invisibili.

Et ideo, quoniam Sermonem Dei *Deum* dixerat, ne adjuvaret adversariorum præsumptionem quasi Patrem ipsum vidisset, distinguendum inter invisibilem Patrem, et Filium visibilem, superdicit ex abundanti: *Deum nemo vidit unquam*.

Quem Deum? Sermonem? At quin *vidimus, et audivimus, et contrectavimus*, de Sermone vitæ prædictum est.

Sed quem Deum? Scilicet Patrem, apud quem Deus erat Sermo, *unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse disseruit*. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 10. Oper. p. 414, 415, 416.

5. Καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀπόστολος· Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε· ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο. Τὸ δ' ἀόρατον καὶ ἄρρητον κόλπον ὀνομάσας Θεοῦ, βαθὺν αὐτὸν κεκλήκασιν ἐντεῦθεν τινες, ὥς ἂν περιειληφότα, καὶ ἐγκολπι-

σάμενον τὰ πάντα, ἀνέφικτόν τε καὶ ἀπέραντον. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. p. 587.

Memoria forsitan fretus, Clemens hic μονογενῆς Θεός, pro μονογενῆς Υἱός, scribit. Ut ut sit, quæ sit mens sua de Christi natura, mirè hæc prodit lectio.

TEXT XIV.

JOHAN. i. 30.

Οὗτός ἐστι περὶ οὗ ἐγὼ εἶπον· Ὁπίσω μου ἔρχεται ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν· ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν. Comp. comm. 27.

Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὁ Χριστός· ὑπηρέτης εἰμὶ, καὶ οὐκ αὐθέντης· ἰδιώτης εἰμὶ, οὐ βασιλεύς.—ἄνθρωπος εἰμὶ, οὐ Θεός.—Ἐγὼ εὐτελὴς καὶ ἐλάχιστος· ἔρχεται δὲ ὀπίσω μου ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου ἐστίν· ὀπίσω, διὰ τὸν χρόνον· ἔμπροσθεν δὲ, διὰ τὸν ἀπρόσιτον καὶ ἀνεκφραστον τῆς θεότητος φῶς. Hippolyt. Homil. in Theophan. c. iii. Oper. vol. i. p. 262.

TEXT XV.

JOHAN. iii. 13.

Καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

Quoniam usque ad summum, nec quisquam in cælum ascendit, nisi qui de cælo descendit, Filius hominis qui est in cælis, repetens hoc ipsum dicit: Pater, clarifica me eo honore, quo fui apud te antequam mundus esset.

Ac si de cœlo descendit Verbum hoc tanquam sponsus ad carnem, ut per, carnis adsumptionem Filius hominis illuc posset ascendere unde Dei Filius Verbum descenderat: merito, dum, per connexionem mutuam, et caro Verbum Dei gerit, et Filius Dei fragilitatem carnis adsumit; cum sponsa carne conscendens illuc unde sine carne descenderat, recipit jam claritatem illam, quam dum ante mundi institutionem habuisse ostenditur, Deus manifestissimè comprobatur. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 608, 609.

TEXT XVI.

JOHAN. v. 46.

Εἰ γὰρ ἐπιστεύετε Μωσῇ, ἐπιστεύετε ἂν ἐμοί· περὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψεν.

Bene igitur et Joannes meminit dicentem Deum Judæis: *Scrutamini Scripturas, in quibus putatis vos vitam æternam habere; illæ sunt, quæ testimonium perhibent de me; et non vultis venire ad me, ut vitam habeatis.* Johan. v. 39.

Quomodo igitur testabantur de eo Scripturæ, nisi ab uno et eodem essent Patre, præstruentes homines de adventu Filii ejus, et prænunciantes salutem quæ est ab eo? *Si enim crederetis Moyse, crederetis et mihi: de me enim ille scripsit.*

Scilicet quod insemminatus est ubique in Scripturis ejus Filius Dei, aliquando quidem cum Abraham loquens, aliquando cum eodem comesurus, aliquando autem Sodomitis inducens judicium: et rursus, cum videtur et in viam dirigit Jacob, et de rubo loquitur cum Moyse. Et non est numerum dicere in quibus a Moyse ostenditur Filius Dei: cujus et diem passionis non ignoravit; sed figuratim prænunciavit eum, *Pascha* nominans. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 23. p. 248.

TEXT XVII.

JOHAN. vi. 62.

Ἐὰν οὖν θεωρῇτε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναβαίνοντα ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον ;

1. Quod si de cœlo missus a Patre est, non utique homo tantum est : homo enim, ut diximus, de cœlo venire non potuit.

Non igitur ibi ante homo fuit : sed illuc ascendit, ubi non fuit.

Descendit autem Dei Verbum, quod ibi fuit : Verbum, inquam, Dei ; et Deus, per quem facta sunt omnia, et sine quo factum est nihil.

Non igitur homo inde sic de cœlis venit ; sed Dei Sermo, id est Deus, inde descendit.

Homo est enim cum Deo junctus, et Deus cum homine copulatus. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p 619.

2. Καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τὸν ἀληθινὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι Οὐπω ἀναβέβηκα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μου, οὐδέπω ἦσαν θεωρήσαντες αὐτὸν ἀνερχόμενον ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον.

Αὐτοῦ ἐστι φωνὴ τοῦ ἀνθρωπισθέντος Θεοῦ Λόγον, τὸ, Ἐὰν οὖν ἴδῃτε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναβαίνοντα ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον ; καὶ τὸ, Οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

Αὐτὸς ἐγένετο μοι εἰς Θεὸν καὶ Κύριον Ἰησοῦν ὁ εἷς ὢν Λόγος· μία αὐτοῦ ὑπόστασις, καὶ ἓν πρόσωπον· αὐτός ἐστιν ὃ ὑπετάγη τὰ πάντα παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς· οὐκ ὢν ἐλάττων τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προσηύξατο, λέγων· Πάτερ ἅγιε, ἀγίασον αὐτοὺς, τήρησον αὐτούς. Dionys. Alex. adv. Paul. Samos. Quæst. x. Oper. p. 274.

TEXT XVIII.

JOHAN. viii. 23.

Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῶν κάτω ἐστέ, ἐγὼ ἐκ τῶν ἀνω εἰμί· ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐστέ, ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμί ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.

Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo dicit : *Vos ex inferioribus estis, ego de sursum sum ; vos de hoc mundo estis, ego non sum de hoc mundo ?*

Ideo, autem, si omnis homo ex hoc mundo est ; et, ideo, in hoc mundo est Christus : an homo tantummodo est ? Absit.

Sed considera quod ait : *Ego non sum de hoc mundo.*

Nunquid ergo mentitur cum ex hoc mundo sit, si homo tantummodo sit ? Aut, si non mentitur, non est ex hoc mundo.

Non ergo homo tantummodo est, quia ex hoc mundo non est.

Sed, ne lateret quis esset, expressit unde esset. *Ego*, inquit, *de sursum sum* ; hoc est de cœlo : unde homo venire non potest, non enim in cœlo factus est.

Deus est, ergo, qui de sursum est ; et, idcirco, de hoc mundo non est : quanquam etiam quodammodo ex hoc mundo est ; unde non Deus tantum est Christus, sed et homo.

Ut merito quomodo non est ex hoc mundo, secundum Verbi divinitatem ; ita ex hoc mundo sit, secundum suscepti corporis fragilitatem : homo est enim cum Deo junctus, et Deus cum homine copulatus. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 619.

TEXT XIX.

JOHAN. viii. 56—58. xvii. 5.

Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἠγαλλίασατο, ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν

τὴν ἐμήν· καὶ εἶδε, καὶ ἐχάρη. Εἶπον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς αὐτόν· Πεντήκοντα ἔτη οὐπω ἔχεις, καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἐώρακας ; Εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγὼ εἰμι.

Καὶ νῦν δόξασόν με, σὺ Πάτερ, παρὰ σεαυτῶ, τῇ δόξῃ ἣ εἶχον, πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, παρὰ σοί.

1. Ipse igitur Christus cum Patre vivorum est Deus, qui et locutus est Moysi, qui et patribus manifestatus est.

At, hoc ipsum docens, dicebat Judæis: *Abraham, pater vester, exultavit, ut videret diem meum; et vidit, et gavisus est.*

Quid enim credidit Abraham Deo, et deputatum est ei ad justiciam?

Primum quidem, quoniam ipse est factor cœli et terræ solus Deus: deinde autem, quoniam faciet semen ejus quasi stellas cœli.

Justè igitur derelinquens terrenam cognationem omnem, sequebatur Verbum Dei, cum Verbo peregrinans, ut cum Verbo moraretur. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iv. c. 11, 12. p. 239.

2. In eo autem, quod amicos Dei dicit suos discipulos, manifestè ostendit se esse Verbum Dei: quem et Abraham, voluntariè et sine vinculis, propter generositatem fidei sequens, amicus factus est Dei.

Sed neque Abrahæ amicitiam, propter indigentiam, assumpsit Dei Verbum, existens ab initio perfectus: *Antequam*, enim, *Abraham esset, ego sum*; inquit: sed ut Abrahæ donaret ipse æternam vitam existens bonus, quoniam amicitia Dei immortalitatis est condonatrix his qui aggrediuntur eam.

Igitur initio, non quasi indigens, Deus hominem plasmavit Adam; sed ut haberet, in quem collocaret sua beneficia. Non solum ante Adam, sed et ante omnem conditionem, glorificabat Verbum Patrem suum manens in eo: et ipse a Patre glorificabatur. Quemadmodum ipse ait: *Pater, clarifica me claritate,*

quam habui apud te priusquam mundus fieret. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 27, 28. p. 253, 254.

3. Qui legunt ergo hominis filium hominem Christum Jesum, legant hunc eundem et Deum et Dei Filium nuncupatum.

Nam, quomodo est, qua homo, ex Abraham : sic est etiam, qua Deus, *ante ipsum Abraham.*

Et quomodo, qua homo, filius David : ita *Dominus David*, qua Deus, nuncupatus est.

Et quomodo, qua homo, sub Lege factus est : ita, qua Deus, *sabbati Dominus* expressus est.

Et quomodo post mundum, qua homo, nascitur : sic *ante mundum*, qua Deus, fuisse perhibetur.

Et quomodo ex semine David, qua homo, genitus est : sic ita *per ipsum*, qua Deum, mundus dicitur institutus.

Et quomodo, qua homo, post multos : ita, qua Deus, *ante omnes.*

Et quomodo cæteris, qua homo, inferior : sic *omnibus*, qua Deus, major.

Et quomodo in cælum, qua homo, ascendit : sic *inde*, qua Deus, ante descendit. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 607.

4. Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo inquit : *Ante Abraham ego sum?*

Nemo enim hominum ante eum potest esse, ex quo ipse est : nec potest fieri, ut quicquam prius fuerit ante illum, ex quo ipsam originem sumpsit. Sed enim Christus cum ex Abraham sit, ante Abraham esse se dicit. Aut mentitur igitur, et fallit ; si ante Abraham non fuit, qui ex Abraham fuit : aut non fallit ; si etiam Deus est, dum ante Abraham fuit. Quod nisi fuisset, consequenter cum ex Abraham fuisset, ante Abraham esse non posset. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 620. Vide etiam Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 386. cit. infra sub Johan. x. 30.

TEXT XX.

JOHAN. X. 30.

Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμεν.

1. Apud nos autem solus Filius Patrem novit: et sinum Patris ipse exposuit: et omnia apud Patrem audivit et vidit; et, quæ mandatus est a Patre, ea et loquitur. Nec suam, sed Patris, perfecit voluntatem: quam de proximo, imo de initio, noverat. Quis enim scit quæ sint in Deo, nisi Spiritus qui in ipso est?

Sermo ergo et in Patre semper, sicut dicit; *Ego in Patre*; et apud Deum semper, sicut scriptum est; *Et Sermo erat apud Deum*: et nunquam separatus a Patre, aut alius a Patre; quia *Ego et Pater unum sumus*.

Hæc erit probola veritatis, custos unitatis, qua prolatum dicimus Filium a Patre, sed non separatum. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 6. Oper. p. 409.

2. *Ego et Pater unum sumus.*

Hic ergo jam gradum volunt figere stulti, imo cæci, qui non videant: primo, *Ego et Pater*, duorum esse significationem; dehinc in novissimo sumus, non ex unius esse persona, quod pluraliter dictum est; tum quod *Unum sumus*, non *Unus sumus*.

Si enim dixisset, quod *Unus sumus*, potuisset adjuvare sententiam illorum. *Unus* enim singularis numeri significatio videtur.

Adhuc, cum duo, masculini generis, *Unum* dicit neutrali verbo, quod non pertinet ad singularitatem, sed ad unitatem, ad similitudinem, ad conjunctionem, ad dilectionem Patris qui Filium diligit, et ad obsequium Filii qui voluntati Patris obsequitur.

Unum sumus, dicens, *Ego et Pater*; ostendit, duos esse, quos æquat et jungit. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 15. Oper. p. 422, 423.

3. Post Philippum et totam substantiam quæstionis istius, quæ in finem evangelii perseverant in eodem genere sermonis, quo Pater et Filius in sua proprietate distinguitur, Paracletum quoque a Patre se postulaturum, quum ascendisset ad Patrem, et missurum repromittit et quidem alium, sed jam præmisimus quomodo alium : *cæterum de meo sumet*, inquit, sicut ipse de Patris.

Ita connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleto, tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero : qui tres *unum* sunt, non *unus* ; quomodo dictum est, *Ego et Pater unum sumus* : ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 15. Oper. p. 425.

4. Si homo tantummodo Christus, quid est quod ait : *Ego et Pater unum sumus* ?

Quomodo enim *Ego et Pater unum sumus*, si non et Deus est et Filius, qui idcirco *Unum* potest dici, dum ex ipso est, et dum Filius ejus est, et dum ex ipso nascitur, dum ex ipso processisse reperitur, per quod et Deus est. Quod cum invidiosum Judæi putassent, et blasphemum credidissent, eo quod se ostenderat his sermonibus Christum esse Deum, ac propterea ad lapides concurrissent, et saxorum ictus injicere gestissent ; exemplo et testimonio Scripturarum adversarios suos fortiter refutavit.

Si illos, inquit, dixit deos ad quos verba facta sunt, et non potest solvi Scriptura : quem Pater sanctificavit, et misit in hunc mundum, vos dicitis quia blasphemus, quia dixi, Filius Dei sum ego ?

Quibus vocibus neque se negavit Deum, quinimo Deum se esse firmavit. Nam, quia sine dubitatione dei esse dicuntur ad quos verba facta sunt, multo magis hic Deus qui melior illis omnibus invenitur. Et nihilominus calumniosam blasphemiam dispositione legitima congruenter refutavit : Deum se sic intelligi vult, ut Filium Dei, et non ipsum Patrem vellet intelligi. Missum enim se esse dixit, et multa opera se ex Patre ostendisse monstravit ; ex quo, non Patrem se, sed Filium, esse intelligi voluit : et, in ultima parte defensionis, Filii non Patris

fecit mentionem, dicendo ; *Vos dicitis quia blasphemias, quia dixi Filius Dei sum.*

Ita, quod ad crimen blasphemiae pertinet, Filium se, non Patrem, dicit : quod autem ad divinitatem spectet ipsius, *Ego et Pater unum sumus* dicendo, Filium se esse et Deum probavit.

Deus est ergo : Deus autem sic, ut Filius sit, non Pater. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 620, 621. Vide etiam Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i. c. 8. p. 113.

5. Dicit Dominus : *Ego et Pater unum sumus.* Et iterum, de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto, scriptum est : *Et hi tres unum sunt.* Et quisquam credit, hanc unitatem, de divina veritate venientem, sacramentis cœlestibus cohærentem, scindi in Ecclesia posse, et voluntatum collidentium divortio separari ? Hanc unitatem qui non tenet, Dei legem non tenet, non tenet Patris et Filii fidem, et veritatem non tenet ad salutem. Cyprian. de unit. Eccles. Oper. vol. i. p. 109.

6. Λεκτέον δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο, ὅτι, εἴπερ ἐνεννοήκει ὁ Κέλσος τὸ, Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμεν καὶ τὸ ἐν εὐχῇ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ, Ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἓν ἐσμεν οὐκ ἂν ᾤετο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄλλον θεραπεύειν παρὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεόν. Ὁ γὰρ Πατὴρ, φησὶν, ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Πατρί.

Εἰ δὲ τις ἐκ τούτων περισπασθήσεται, μὴ πῇ αὐτομολοῦμεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας δυὸ εἶναι ὑποστάσεις Πατέρα καὶ Υἱόν· ἐπιστησάτω τῷ, Ἦν δὲ πάντων τῶν πιστευσάντων ἡ καρδιά καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία, ἵνα θεωρήσῃ τὸ, Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμεν.

Ἐνα οὖν Θεόν, ὡς ἀποδεδώκαμεν, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, θεραπεύομεν καὶ μένει ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτενὴς λόγος· καὶ οὐ τὸν ἐναγχός γε φανέντα, ὡς πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα, ὑπερθησκεύομεν. Αὐτῷ γὰρ πειθόμεθα τῷ εἰπόντι, Πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγὼ εἰμι καὶ λέγοντι, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια. Καὶ οὐχ οὕτω τις ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἀνδράποδον, ὡς οἶεσθαι, ὅτι ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας οὐσία πρὸ τῶν χρόνων τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιφανείας οὐκ ἦν.

Θρησκεύομεν οὖν τὸν Πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἓν δὲ τῇ ὁμοιοῖα καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος· ὡς τὸν ἑωρακότα τὸν Υἱὸν (ὄντα ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, καὶ χαρακτῆρα τῆς ὑπο-

στάσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ) ἑωρακεῖναι ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅντι εἰκόνι τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν Θεόν. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 385, 386. Vide etiam Dionys. Roman. apud Athan. Epist. de Synod. Nic. cont. hæc. Arian. decret. Oper. vol. i. p. 422, 423.

TEXT XXI.

JOHAN. xiii. 3, 4.

Εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὅτι πάντα δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ Πατὴρ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἐξῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὑπάγει, ἐγείρεται ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου, καὶ τίθησι τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ λαβὼν λέντιον διέζωσεν ἑαυτόν.

1. Ὁ Κύριος τρυβλίῳ ἐπόψατο εὐτελεῖ, καὶ κατέκλινεν τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐπὶ τῆς πόας χαμαί· καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἐνίπτεν αὐτῶν, σαβάνῳ περιζωσάμενος, ὁ ἄτυφος Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος τῶν ὅλων, οὐκ ἀργυροῦν δὴ ποδοσιπτῆρα περιφέρων ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. c. 3. Oper. p. 161.

2. Est ergo Deus Pater omnium institutor et creator, solus originem nesciens, invisibilis, immensus, immortalis, æternus, unus Deus, cujus neque magnitudini neque majestati neque virtuti quicquam non dixerim præferri, sed nec comparari potest.

Ex quo, quando ipse voluit, Sermo Filius natus est : qui, non sono percussi æris, aut tono coactæ de visceribus vocis, accipitur ; sed in substantia prolata a Deo virtutis agnoscitur : cujus sacræ et divinæ nativitatis arcana nec apostolus didicit, nec propheta comperit, nec angelus scivit, nec creatura cognovit ; Filio soli nota sunt, qui Patris secreta cognovit.

Hic ergo, cum sit genitus a Patre, semper est in Patre. *Semper* autem sic dico, ut non innatum, sed natum, probem. Sed qui ante omne tempus est, semper in Patre fuisse dicendus est. Nec enim tempus illi assignari potest, qui ante tempus est. Semper enim in Patre, ne Pater non semper sit Pater : quin et

Pater illum etiam quadam ratione præcedit, quod necesse est quodammodo prior sit qua Pater sit. Quoniam aliquo pacto antecedit necesse est eum, qui habet originem, ille qui originem nescit.

Hic ergo, quando Pater voluit, *processit ex Patre* : et, qui in Patre fuit, quia ex Patre fuit, cum Patre postmodum fuit, quia *ex Patre processit* : substantia scilicet illa divina, cujus nomen est *Verbum*, per quod facta sunt omnia, et sine quo factum est nihil.

Omnia enim post ipsum sunt, quia per ipsum sunt : et merito ipse est ante omnia, quando per illum facta sunt omnia, qui *processit ex eo* ex cujus voluntate facta sunt omnia : Deus utique, *procedens ex Deo*, secundam personam efficiens, sed non eripiens illud Patri quod unus est Deus.

Si enim natus fuisset innatus, comparatus cum eo qui esset innatus, æquatione in utroque ostensi duos faceret innatos : et ideo duos faceret Deos, si non genitus esset, collatus cum eo qui genitus non esset ; et, æquales inventi, duos Deos merito reddidissent non geniti : atque ideo duos Christus reddidisset Deos, si sine origine esset, ut Pater inventus, et ipse principium omnium ut Pater, duo faciens principia, duos ostendisset nobis consequenter et Deos.

Aut, si et ipse Filius non esset, sed Pater generans de se alterum Filium, merito collatus cum Patre, et tantus denotatus duos Patres effecisset, et ideo duos approbasset etiam Deos.

Christus autem non innatus est, sed ex Patre est, quia genitus est : sive dum Verbum est, sive dum Virtus est, sive dum Sapientia est, sive dum Lux est, sive dum Filius est, et quicquid horum est dum non aliunde est ; quando, sicut dicimus jam superius, ex Patre, Patri suo originem suam debens, discordiam divinitatis de numero duorum Deorum facere non potuit, qui ex illo qui est unus Deus originem nascendo contraxit : quo genere dum et unigenitus est et primogenitus ex illo est, quia originem non habet, unus est omnium rerum et principium et caput.

Est ergo Deus ; sed in hoc ipsum genitus, ut esset Deus.

Est et Dominus ; sed in hoc ipsum natus ex Patre, ut esset Dominus. Est et Angelus ; sed, ad annuntiandum magnum Dei consilium, ex Patre suo Angelus destinatus.

Cujus sic divinitas traditur, ut non dissonantia divinitatis duos Deos reddidisse videatur. Subjectis enim ei quasi Filio omnibus rebus a Patre, Patris quidem sui Filius probatur ; cæterorum autem et Dominus et Deus esse reperitur.

Ex quo, dum huic, qui est Deus, omnia substrata traduntur, et cuncta sibi subjecta Filius accepta refert Patri ; totam divinitatis auctoritatem rursus illi remittit : unde unus Deus ostenditur verus et æternus Pater, a quo solo hæc vis divinitatis emissa, etiam in Filium tradita et directa, rursum per substantiæ communionem ad Patrem revolvitur.

Deus quidem ostenditur Filius, cui divinitas tradita et porrecta conspicitur : et tamen nihilominus unus Deus Pater probatur, dum gradatim reciproco meatu illa majestas atque divinitas ad Patrem, qui dederat eam, rursum ab illo ipso Filio missa revertitur et retorquetur. Ut merito Deus Pater omnium Deus sit, et principium Filii sui quem Dominum genuit : Filius autem cæterorum omnium Deus sit, quoniam omnibus illum Deus Pater præposuit quem genuit.

Ita mediator Dei et hominum Christus Jesus omnis creaturæ subjectam sibi habens a Patre proprio potestatem qua Deus est, cum tota creatura subdita sibi concors Patri suo Deo inventus, unum et solum et verum Deum Patrem suum, manente in illo quod etiam auditus est, breviter approbavit. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 633, 634.

TEXT XXII.

JOHAN. xiv. 8, 9, 10.

Λέγει αὐτῷ Φίλιππος· Κύριε, δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Τοσοῦτον χρόνον

μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με, Φίλιππε ; Ὁ ἑωρακὼς ἐμὲ, ἑώρακε τὸν Πατέρα· καὶ πῶς σὺ λέγεις, Δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν Πατέρα ; Οὐ πιστεύεις, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί ἐστι ;

1. Et Dominus autem Philippo, volenti Patrem videre, respondit : *Tanto tempore vobiscum sum, et me non cognovistis? Philippe, qui videt me, videt et Patrem meum. Quomodo tu dicis, Ostende nobis Patrem? Ego enim in Patre, et Pater in me est: et amodo cognovistis eum, et vidistis eum.* Quibus ergo Dominus testimonium dixit, quoniam et cognoverunt in ipso et viderunt Patrem: Pater autem veritas. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 13. p. 197.

2. Si Filium nolunt secundum a Patre reputari, ne secundus duos faciat Deos dici, ostendimus etiam duos Deos in Scriptura relatos et duos Dominos: et tamen, ne de isto scandalizentur, rationem reddidimus, qua Dii non duo dicantur nec Domini; sed, qua Pater et Filius, duo: et hoc non ex separatione substantiæ, sed ex dispositione, quum individuum et inseparatum Filium a Patre pronunciamus, nec statu sed gradu alium, qui et si Deus dicatur, quando nominatur singularis, non ideo duos Deos faciat sed unum, hoc ipso quod et Deus ex unitate Patris vocari habeat, sed argumentationibus eorum adhuc retundendis, opera præbenda est, si quid de Scripturis ad sententiam suam excerpent, cætera nolentes intueri, quæ et ipsa regulam servant, et quidem salva unione divinitatis et monarchiæ sonitu. Nam, sicut, in veteribus, nihil aliud tenent, quam; *Ego Deus, et alius præter me non est*: ita, in evangelio, responsionem Domini ad Philippum tuentur; *Ego et Pater unum sumus*; et, *Qui me viderit, vidit et Patrem*; et, *Ego in Patre, et Pater in me.* Tertull. adv. Prax. § 14. Oper. p. 419, 420.

3. Τοσοῦτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με, Φίλιππε ; Τοῦτο δ' εἶρηκεν αὐτῷ ἀξιῶσαντι καὶ λέγοντι· Δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν. Νοήσας τις οὖν, πῶς δεῖ ἀκούειν περὶ μονογενοῦς Θεοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, καθότι ὁ Λόγος γέγονε σὰρξ, ὥψεται, πῶς, ἰδὼν τις τὴν

εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ, γινώσεται τὸν Πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντός. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vii. p. 361.

TEXT XXIII.

JOHAN. xvi. 28.

Ἐξῆλθον παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον·
πάλιν ἀφίημι τὸν κόσμον, καὶ πορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα.

1. Ἐπὶ ἓνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀφ' ἑνὸς Πατρὸς προελθόντα, καὶ εἰς ἓνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. § vii. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. ii. p. 19.

2. Ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Υἱὸς ὧν Θεοῦ, καὶ πρὶν ἐνανθρωπῆσαι, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσας, ἀποδείκνυται. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iii. p. 119.

3. Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo dicit; *Ego ex Deo prodii et veni*: cum constet, hominem a Deo factum esse, non ex Deo processisse?

Ex Deo autem homo quomodo non processit, sic Dei Verbum processit, de quo dictum est: *Eructavit cor meum Verbum bonum*. Quod quoniam ex Deo est, merito et apud Deum est: quodque quia non otiosè prolatum, merito omnia facit. *Omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil*.

Sed enim hoc Verbum, per quod facta sunt omnia. *Et Deus, inquit, erat Verbum*. Deus ergo processit ex Deo: dum qui processit Sermo Deus est, qui processit ex Deo. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 620.

TEXT XXIV.

JOHAN. xvii. 3.

Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ αἰώνιος Ζωὴ, ἵνα γινώσκωσί σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

1. Si homo tantummodo Christus, quare credendi nobis talem regulam posuit, quo diceret : *Hæc est autem vita æterna, ut sciant te unum et verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum?*

Si noluisset se etiam Deum intelligi, cur addidit, *Et quem misisti Jesum Christum* ; nisi quoniam et Deum accipi voluit ? Quoniam, si se Deum nollet intelligi, addidisset ; *Et quem misisti hominem Jesum Christum* : nunc autem neque addidit, nec se hominem nobis tantummodo Christus tradidit ; sed Deo junxit, ut et Deum per hanc conjunctionem, sicut est, intelligi vellet.

Est ergo credendum, secundum præscriptam regulam, in Dominum unum verum Deum, et in eum quem misit Jesum Christum consequenter : qui se nequaquam Patri, ut diximus, junxisset, nisi Deum quoque intelligi vellet. Separasset enim ab eo, si Deum intelligi se noluisset : inter homines enim tantummodo se conlocasset, si hominem se esse tantummodo sciret ; nec cum Deo junxisset, si se non et Deum nosset. Nunc et de homine tacet, quoniam hominem illum nemo dubitat : et Deo se jungit merito, ut credituris divinitatis suæ formulam poneret. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 621, 622. Vide etiam Ibid. p. 633, 634. ut sup. cit. in Johan. xiii. 3, 4.

2. Οὐκ ἐσμὲν λίθων οὐδεμίαν αἴσθησιν ἐχόντων θεραπευταί, ἀλλὰ μόνου Θεοῦ τοῦ πρὸ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων· καὶ ἔτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅντως Θεοῦ Λόγου πρὸ αἰώνων, ἔσμεν θρησκευταί. Melit. Apol. in Chron. Pasch. ad A.D. 164, 165. apud Routh. Rel. Sacr. vol. i. p. 112.

3. Quod enim, in evangeliis et in apostolorum epistolis, Jesu Christi nomen insinuat ad remissionem peccatorum ; non ita est, quasi, aut sine Patre, aut contra Patrem, prodesse cuiquam solus Filius posset : sed ut Judæis, qui jactitabant se Patrem habere, ostenderetur, quod nihil eis Pater profuturus esset, nisi in Filium crederent quem ille misisset. Nam, qui Deum Patrem creatorem sciebant, Filium quoque Christum scire debebant ; ne sibi blandirentur et plauderent de solo Patre sine Filii ejus agnitione : qui et dicebat ; *Nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me*. Duorum autem cognitionem esse quæ salvet, idem ipse mani-

festat, dicens : *Hæc est vita æterna, ut cognoscant te solum et verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum.* Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 205.

TEXT XXV.

JOHAN. xvii. 5.

Καὶ νῦν δόξασόν με, σὺ Πάτερ, παρὰ σεαυτοῦ, τῇ δόξῃ ἣ ἔῤῥχον, πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, παρὰ σοί.

1. Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo dicit : *Et nunc honorifica me gloria, quam habebam apud te priusquam mundus esset ?*

Si, antequam mundus esset, gloriam habuit apud Deum, et claritatem tenuit apud Patrem ; ante mundum fuit : nec enim habuisset gloriam, nisi ipse prius fuisset qui gloriam posset tenere. Nemo enim habere aliquid poterit, nisi ante ipse fuerit qui aliquid tenet. Sed enim Christus habet gloriam ante mundi institutionem. Ergo ante institutionem mundi fuit.

Nisi, enim, ante institutionem mundi esset ; ante mundi institutionem gloriam habere non posset, quum ipse non esset. Sed enim homo gloriam ante mundi institutionem habere non potuit, qui post mundum fuit. Christus autem habuit. Ante mundum igitur fuit.

Non igitur homo tantummodo fuit, qui ante mundum fuit. Deus est igitur, quoniam ante mundum fuit, et gloriam ante mundum tenuit. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 622.

2. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, Θεὸς ὑπάρχων ἐκ Θεοῦ, κεκένωκεν ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καθεὶς ἐθέλοντῆς ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν, καὶ τὴν ἄδοξαν ταύτην σάρκα ἡμπέσχετο, λοιπὸν καὶ ὑπερυψοῦσθαι λέγεται, καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἔχων διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον μονονοχὶ καὶ ἐν χάριτος μοίρᾳ λάμβανει τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου φωνήν.

Ἄλλ' ἦν, τὸ χρῆμα καὶ τὸ ἀληθές, οὐ δόσις ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν οὐκ ἐνόντων αὐτῷ φυσικῶς, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· νοοῖτο δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἀναφοίτησις καὶ ἀναδρομὴ πρὸς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ οὐσιωδῶς καὶ ἀναποβληθῆτως ὑπάρχον αὐτῷ.

Τοιγάρτοι καὶ ἔφασκεν ὁ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τὸ σμικροπρεπές ὑποδοὺς οἰκονομικῶς· Πάτερ, δόξασόν με τῇ δόξῃ ἣ εἶχον, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐν δόξῃ θεοπρεπεῖ τῷ ἰδίῳ συννύπαρχων γεννήτορι πρὸ παντός αἰῶνος καὶ χρόνου καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου καταβολῆς. Hippol. Comment. in Gen. Oper. vol. ii. p. 29.

TEXT XXVI.

JOHAN. XX. 28.

Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Θωμᾶς, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ὁ Κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου.

1. Quod si, cum nullius sit nisi Dei cordis nosse secreta, Christus secreta conspicit cordis; quod si, cum nullius sit nisi Dei peccata dimittere, idem Christus peccata dimittit; quod si, cum nullius sit hominis de cœlo venire, de cœlo veniendo descendit; quod si, cum nullius hominis hæc vox esse possit *Ego et Pater unum sumus*, hanc vocem de conscientia divinitatis Christus solus edicit; quod si postremo omnibus divinitatis Christi probationibus et rebus instructus apostolus Thomas, respondens Christo, *Dominus meus et Deus meus* dicit; quod si et apostolus Paulus, *Quorum*, inquit, *patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula*, in suis literis scribit; quod si idem se apostolum, non ab hominibus, sed per Jesum Christum, accepisse contendit: merito Deus est Christus. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 609.

2. Quod Deus Christus.—Item, in evangelio cata Joannem: *In principio erat Sermo; et Sermo erat apud Deum; et Deus erat*

Sermo. Item, in eodem, Dominus ad Thomam: *Injice huc digitum tuum; et vide manus meas; et noli esse incredulus, sed fidelis.* Respondit Thomas, et dixit illi: *Dominus meus, et Deus meus.* Cyprian. adv. Jud. lib. ii. § 6. Oper. vol. i. p. 34, 35.

3. Ὁ δὲ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστὰς Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε καὶ ἔζησεν, ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ· Θεὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ φύσει, ὁ κυριεύων τῶν ἀπάντων· καὶ ἀναστὰς καὶ ἐπιγνωσθεὶς ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων Θεὸς εἶναι ἀληθινός, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς καὶ ἀναστὰς, ὁμοτίμως τε Θεὸς Κύριος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θωμᾶ κηρυττόμενος· ὁ γὰρ Κύριος ὁ Θεός, ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοῦ τοὺς μώλωπας, ἀνέστη, ὁ τετραντισμένος δι' ἡμᾶς· Θεὸς γὰρ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ψηλαφηθεὶς, οὐ φύσει ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ φύσει Θεός, ὁ κληρονόμος τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ κρίνων πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, ὡς γέγραπται, Ἀνάστα ὁ Θεός, κρῖνον τὴν γῆν, ὅτι σὺ κατακληρονομήσεις ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· Υἱὸς Θεοῦ Λόγος ὢν ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ κληρονόμος, ἀπέθανεν ὕστερον μετὰ τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ τοὺς προφῆτας, ὡς αὐτὸς, φησὶν, ἐν εὐαγγελίοις εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας τοὺς προφῆτας. Dionys. Alex. Epist. adv. Paul. Samos. Oper. p. 210.

TEXT XXVII.

ROM. ix. 5.

Ὡν οἱ πατέρες, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

1. Hic est Emanuel, ne forte tantum eum hominem putarem. Non enim ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex voluntate Dei, Verbum caro factum est: neque alium quidem Jesum suspicemur fuisse; sed unum et eundem sciremus Deum esse. Hoc ipsum interpretatus est Paulus, scribens ad Romanos—de Israel: *Quorum patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est Deus super omnes benedictus in secula.* Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 18. p. 203.

2. De resurrectione, inquit, mortuorum, non legistis quod dictum est a Deo, dicente: *Ego sum Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob?* Et adjecit: *Non est Deus mortuorum, sed viventium; omnes enim ei vivunt.*

Per hæc itaque manifestum fecit, quoniam is, qui de rubo locutus est Moysi, et manifestavit se esse Deum patrum, hic est viventium Deus. Quis enim est vivorum Deus, nisi *qui est super omnia Deus*, et super quem alius non est Deus?—

Qui igitur a prophetis adorabatur Deus vivus, hic est vivorum Deus et Verbum ejus, qui et locutus est Moysi, qui et Sadducæos redarguit, qui et resurrectionem et Dominum ostendit.

Si enim Deus mortuorum non est, sed vivorum; hic autem dormientium patrum Deus dictus est: indubitatè vivunt Deo, et non perierunt, cum sint filii resurrectionis.

Resurrectio autem ipse Dominus est: quemadmodum ipse ait: *Ego sum resurrectio et vita.* Patres autem ejus filii: dictum est autem a propheta; *Pro patribus tuis facti sunt tibi filii tui.*

Ipse igitur Christus cum Patre vivorum est Deus, qui et locutus est Moysi, qui et patribus manifestatus est. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 11. p. 238, 239.

3. Duos quidem definimus Patrem et Filium, et jam tres cum Spiritu Sancto, secundum rationem œconomiae quæ facit numerum: ne (ut vestra perversitas infert) Pater ipse credatur natus et passus; quod non licet credi, quoniam non ita traditum est.

Duos tamen Deos et duos Dominos nunquam ex ore nostro proferimus: non quasi non et Pater Deus, et Filius Deus, et Spiritus Deus, et Deus unusquisque; sed quoniam retro et duo Dii et duo Domini prædicabantur, ut, ubi venisset Christus, et *Deus* agnosceretur et *Dominus* vocaretur, quia Filius Dei et Domini.

Itaque *Deos* omnino non dicam nec *Dominos*: sed apostolum sequar, ut, si pariter nominandi fuerint Pater et Filius, *Deum* Patrem appellem, et Jesum Christum *Dominum* nominem. Solum autem Christum potero Deum dicere, sicut idem apostolus:

Ex quibus Christus, qui est, inquit, Deus super omnia benedictus in ævum omne. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 10. Oper. p. 413, 414.

4. *Deum nemo vidit unquam.*

Quem Deum? Sermonem? At quin *vidimus*, et *audivimus*, et *contrectavimus*, de Sermone vitæ prædictum est.

Sed quem Deum? Scilicet Patrem, apud quem Deus erat Sermo, *unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse disseruit.* Ipse et auditus; et visus; et, ne phantasma crederetur, etiam contrectatus. Hunc et Paulus conspexit: nec tamen Patrem vidit. *Nonne, inquit, vidi Jesum?* Christum autem et ipse *Deum cognominavit: Quorum patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in ævum.* Tertull. adv. Prax. § 10. Oper. p. 416.

5. Si et apostolus Paulus, *Quorum, inquit, patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula*, in suis literis scribit:—merito Deus est Christus. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 609.

6. Quod Deus Christus:—Item Paulus ad Romanos: *Optabam ego ipse anathema esse a Christo pro fratribus cognatisque meis secundum carnem; qui sunt Israelitæ, quorum adoptio, et claritas, et testamentum, et legis constitutio, et famulatus, et promissiones; quorum patres, ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula.* Cyprian. adv. Jud. lib. ii. § 6. Oper. vol. i. p. 34, 35.

7. Quis ergo est iste, qui in forma Dei, ut diximus, factus est?

Angelus? Sed nec in angelis formam Dei legimus, nisi quoniam hic præcipuus atque generosus præ omnibus Dei Filius Verbum Dei, imitator omnium paternorum operum, dum et ipse operatur sicut et Pater ejus, forma (ut expressimus) est Dei Patris.

Et merito in forma pronunciatus est Dei, dum et *ipse super omnia*, et omnis creaturæ divinam obtinens potestatem, et *Deus* est exemplo Patris: hoc ipsum tamen a Patre proprio consecutus, ut *omnium et Deus esset* et Dominus esset et Deus ad formam Dei Patris ex ipso genitus atque prolatus. Hic ergo,

quamvis esset in forma Dei, non est rapinam arbitratus æqualem se Deo esse.

Exinanivit se, dum ad injurias contumeliasque descendit, dum audit infanda, experitur indigna : cujus tamen humilitatis adest statim egregius fructus.

Accepit enim nomen, quod est super omne nomen : quod utique non aliud intelligimus esse, quam nomen Dei. Nam, quum Dei sit solius esse super omnia, consequens est, ut nomen illud sit super omnia, quod est ejus qui super omnia est Dei. Est ergo nomen illud, quod super omne nomen est : quod nomen est ejus utique consequenter, qui, quum in forma Dei fuisset, non rapinam arbitratus est æqualem se Deo esse. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 613.

8. Ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, Κύριος ὁ Θεός Ἰσραὴλ, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός. Dionys. Alex. Oper. p. 248.

9. Ὁ δὲ λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος· Ὡν οἱ πατέρες, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· καλῶς διηγεῖται καὶ λαμπρῶς τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας μυστήριον· οὗτος ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός ἐστιν, λέγει γὰρ οὕτω μετὰ παρρησίας, Πάντα μοι παραδέδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρός· ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός εὐλογητὸς γεγένηται, καὶ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος Θεός ἐστιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Hippol. cont. Noet. c. vi. Oper. vol. ii. p. 10.

[Simili modo locum acceperunt etiam Noetus Noetique discipuli ; uti ex eodem Hippolyto patet : Christum enim Patrem habentes, de Christo, qua Patre, dictum affirmarunt.

Χριστὸς γὰρ ἦν Θεός, disseruit Noetus, καὶ ἔπαθεν δι' ἡμᾶς, αὐτὸς ὢν Πατὴρ, ἵνα καὶ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς δυνηθῇ. Ἄλλο δέ, φησιν, οὐ δυνάμεθα λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἓνα Θεὸν ὁμολογεῖ, λέγων· Ὡν οἱ πατέρες, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Hippol. cont. Noet. c. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 7.

Inter Catholicos, scilicet, et Patripassianos, quod ad locum spectavit, nihil interfuit. De Christo, *ut sit Christus super omnia Deus benedictus*, uno ore interpretati sunt : Catholici vero Christum, Deum de Deo, Filium de Patre, habuerunt ; Patripassiani autem Christum, Patrem ipsissimum, Numine

unipersonali existente, affirmarunt. De loci ipsius igitur mente prorsus consenserunt antiqui, sive Catholici, sive Hæretici. *Christum esse super omnia Deum benedictum* monere apostolum, æquè se habuerunt persuasos.]

10. Τοῦτον δὲ Υἱὸν γεννητὸν, μονογενῇ Υἱὸν, εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ τυγχάνοντα, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, Σοφίαν καὶ Λόγον καὶ Δύναμιν Θεοῦ, πρὸ αἰώνων ὄντα, οὐ προγνώσει ἀλλ' οὐσίᾳ καὶ ὑποστάσει Θεὸν, Θεοῦ Υἱὸν, ἐν τε παλαιᾷ καὶ νέᾳ διαθήκῃ ἐγνωκότες, ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ κηρύσσομεν. "Ὅς δ' ἂν ἀντιμάχῃται τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸν μὴ εἶναι πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου πιστεύειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν, φάσκων δύο Θεοὺς καταγγέλλεσθαι, ἐὰν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸς κηρύσσῃται, τοῦτον ἀλλότριον τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος ἡγούμεθα· καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ καθολικαὶ ἐκκλησίαι συμφωνοῦσιν ἡμῖν. Περὶ γὰρ τούτου γέγραπται· Ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ Θεός, εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος·—καὶ φησιν ἀπόστολος· Ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Concil. Antioch. Epist. apud Routh. Rel. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 466.

TEXT XXVIII.

1 CORINTH. i. 25.

"Ὅτι τὸ μωρὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφώτερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστί· καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἰσχυρότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστί.

Quid est autem *Stultum Dei sapientius hominibus*, nisi crux et mors Christi? Quid *Infirmum Dei fortius homine*, nisi nativitas et caro Dei? Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. v. § 9. Oper. p. 302.

TEXT XXIX.

PHILIPP. ii. 5—11.

Τοῦτο γὰρ φρονεῖσθω ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ὅς, ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγήσατο τὸ

εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ· ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ, σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε, καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα· ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσῃται ὅτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς.

1. Ταπεινοφρονούντων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐκ ἐπαιρομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ. Τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας οὐδὲ ὑπερηφανίας, καίπερ δυνάμενος· ἀλλὰ ταπεινοφρονῶν, καθὼς τὸ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλάλησεν. Clem. Rom. Epist. ad Corinth. i. § 16. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. i. p. 156.

2. Propter hoc Dominus noster, in novissimis temporibus recapitulans in seipso omnia, venit ad nos, non quomodo ipse poterat, sed quomodo illum nos videre poteramus. Ipse, enim, in sua enarrabili gloria, ad nos venire poterat: sed nos magnitudinem gloriæ suæ portare non poteramus. Iren. adv. hæres. lib. iv. c. 74. p. 309.

3. Dicit, quod, *In effigie Dei constitutus, non rapinam existimavit paritari Deo.*—Æque non erit Dei Christus verè, si nec homo verè fuit in effigie hominis constitutus. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. v. § 41. Oper. p. 329.

4. Vacua et inanis res est Sermo Dei, qui Filius dictus est, qui ipse Deus cognominatus est: *Et Sermo erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Sermo?* Scriptum est: *Non sumes nomen Dei in vanum.* Hic certè est, qui, *in effigie Dei constitutus, non rapinam existimavit esse se æqualem Deo.* Tertull. adv. Prax. § 6. Oper. p. 409.

5. Cur autem, licet ad aliam partem disputandi festinare videamur, illum prætereamus apud apostolum locum: *Qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est æqualem se Deo esse; sed semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in si-*

militudine hominum factus, et habitu inventus ut homo, humiliavit se, obediens factus usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis: propterea et Deus illum superexaltavit, et dedit nomen quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur, cœlestium, terrestrium, et infernorum; et omnis lingua confiteatur, quoniam Dominus Jesus in gloria est Dei Patris.

Qui cum in forma Dei esset, inquit.

Si homo tantummodo Christus, *in imagine Dei*, non *in forma Dei*, relatus fuisset: hominem enim scimus, ad *imaginem*, non ad *formam*, Dei factum. Quis ergo est iste, qui *in forma Dei*, ut diximus, factus est? Angelus? Sed nec in angelis formam Dei legimus, nisi quoniam hic præcipuus atque generosus præ omnibus Dei Filius Verbum Dei, imitator omnium paternorum operum, dum et ipse operatur sicut et Pater ejus, forma (ut expressimus) est Dei Patris. Et merito in forma pronunciatus est Dei, dum et ipse super omnia, et omnis creaturæ divinam obtinens potestatem, et Deus est exemplo Patris: hoc ipsum tamen a Patre proprio consecutus, ut omnium et Deus esset et Dominus esset et Deus ad formam Dei Patris ex ipso genitus atque prolatus.

Hic ergo, *quamvis esset in forma Dei, non est rapinam arbitratus æqualem se Deo esse.*

Quamvis enim se ex Deo Patre Deum esse meminisset, nunquam se Deo Patri aut comparavit aut contulit, memor se esse ex suo Patre, et hoc ipsum quod est habere se quia Pater dedisset. Inde denique, et ante carnis assumptionem, sed et post assumptionem corporis, post ipsam præterea resurrectionem, omnem Patri in omnibus rebus obedientiam præstitit pariter ac præstat. Ex quo probatur, nunquam arbitratum illum esse rapinam quandam divinitatem, ut æquaret se Patri Deo.

Quinimo contra, omni ipsius imperio et voluntati obediens atque subjectus, etiam *ut formam servi susciperet* contentus fuit; hoc est, hominem illum fieri et substantiam carnis et corporis, quam ex paternorum et secundum hominem delictorum servitute venientem nascendo suscepit.

Quo tempore *se etiam exinanivit*, dum humanam conditionis

fragilitatem suscipere non recusavit. Quoniam, si homo tantummodo natus fuisset, per hoc exinanitus non esset: homo enim nascens augetur, non exinanitur. Nam, dum incipit esse quod, cum non esset, habere non potuit, ut diximus, non exinanitur, sed potius augetur atque ditatur. At, si Christus exinanitur in eo quod nascitur, formam servi accipiendo; quomodo homo tantummodo est: de quo verius dictum fuisset, locupletatum illum esse tunc quum nasceretur, non exinanitum, nisi quoniam autoritas divini Verbi, ad suscipiendum hominem interim conquiescens nec se suis viribus exercens, dejicit se ad tempus atque deponit, dum hominem fert quem susceperit. *Exinanivit se*, dum ad injurias contumeliasque descendit, dum audit infanda, experitur indigna: cujus tamen humilitatis adest statim egregius fructus.

Accepit enim nomen, quod est super omne nomen; quod utique non aliud intelligimus esse, quam nomen Dei. Nam, quum Dei sit solius esse super omnia, consequens est, ut nomen illud sit super omnia, quod est ejus qui super omnia est Dei. Est ergo nomen illud, quod super omne nomen est: quod nomen est ejus utique consequenter, qui, quum in forma Dei fuisset, non rapinam arbitratus est æqualem se Deo esse.

Neque enim, si non et Deus esset Christus, *omne se in nomine ejus genu flecteret, cœlestium et terrestrium et infernorum, nec visibilia aut invisibilia aut rerum omnium omnis creatura homini esset subjecta sive substrata*, quæ se ante hominem esse meminisset. Ex quo et, dum in forma Dei esse Christus dicitur, et dum in nativitatem secundum carnem se exinanisse monstratur, et dum id accepisse nomen a Patre quod sit super omne nomen exprimitur, et dum in nomine ejus omne genu cœlestium et terrenorum et infernorum se flectere et curvare monstratur: et hoc ipsum *in gloriam Dei Patris* succurrere asseritur; consequenter, non ex illo tantum homo est quia *obediens Patri factus est usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis*, sed ex his etiam rebus superioribus divinitatem Christi sonantibus Dominus Christus Jesus et Deus (quod hæretici nolunt esse) monstratur. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 612, 613, 614.

6. Pater Deus præcepit Filium suum adorari; et apostolus Paulus, divini præcepti memor, ponit et dicit: *Deus exaltavit illum, et donavit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen; ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur, cœlestium, terrestrium, et infernorum.* Et, in Apocalypsi, Angelus Johanni volenti adorare se restitit et dicit: *Vide ne feceris, quia conservus tuus sum et fratrum tuorum. Jesum Dominum adora.* Cyprian. de bon. patient. Oper. vol. i. p. 220. Vide etiam Cyprian. Test. adv. Jud. lib. iii. § 39. vol. i. p. 76.

7. Πολύφωνός γε ὁ Σωτὴρ, καὶ πολύτροπος εἰς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν· ἀπειλῶν, νουθετεῖ—διὰ βάτου λαλεῖ·—καὶ τῷ πυρὶ δεδίττεται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀνάπτων ἐκ κίονος τὴν φλόγα, δεῖγμα ὁμοῦ χάριτος καὶ φόβου· ἐὰν ὑπακούσῃς, τὸ φῶς· ἐὰν παρακούσῃς, τὸ πῦρ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ κίονος καὶ βάτου ἡ σὰρξ τιμιωτέρα, προφήται μετ' ἐκεῖνα φθέγγονται, αὐτὸς ἐν Ἡσαΐα ὁ Κύριος λαλῶν· αὐτὸς, ἐν Ἠλίᾳ· ἐν στόματι προφητῶν, αὐτός. Σὺ δὲ, ἀλλ' εἰ προφήταις μὴ πιστεύεις, μῦθον δὲ ὑπολαμβάνεις καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὸ πῦρ, αὐτός σοι λαλήσει ὁ Κύριος· Ὃς, ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ· ἐκένωσε δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὁ φιλοκτίρμων Θεός, σῶσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον γλιχόμενος. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη σοι ἐναργῶς ὁ Λόγος λαλεῖ, δυσωπῶν τὴν ἀπιστίαν. Ναί, φημι ὁ Λόγος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος· ἵνα δὴ καὶ σὺ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μάθῃς, πῇ ποτε ἄρα ἄνθρωπος γένηται Θεός. Clem. Alex. Admon. ad gent. Oper. p. 7.

8. Ἐοικεν δὲ ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν, ὃ παῖδες ὑμεῖς, τῷ Πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεῷ, οὗπὲρ ἐστὶν Υἱὸς ἀναμάρτητος, ἀνεπίληπτος, καὶ ἀπαθὴς τὴν ψυχὴν· Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπου σχήματι, ἄχραντος, πατρικῷ θελήματι διάκονος, Λόγος Θεός, ὁ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς, σὺν καὶ τῷ σχήματι Θεός. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i. c. 2. Oper. p. 79, 80.

9. Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος Θεός. Καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ μεσίτης ἐπιτελεῖ· μεσίτης γὰρ ὁ Λόγος, ὁ κοινὸς ἀμφοῖν· Θεοῦ μὲν Υἱός, Σωτὴρ δὲ ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τοῦ μὲν διάκονος, ἡμῶν δὲ παιδαγωγός. Δούλης δὲ οὐσης τῆς σαρκὸς, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Παῦλος μαρτυρεῖ, πῶς ἂν τις εἰκότως τὴν θεραπείαν κοσμήῃ, προαγωγῷ δίκην; Ὅτι γὰρ δούλου μορφήν τὸ σαρκικόν, ἐπὶ τοῦ

Κυρίου φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος· ὅτι ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν· τὸν ἐκτὸς ἄνθρωπον δοῦλον προσειπὼν, πρὶν δουλεῦσαι καὶ σαρκοφορῆσαι τὸν Κύριον. Ὁ δὲ συμπαθὴς Θεὸς αὐτὸς ἡλευθέρωσεν τὴν σάρκα· τῆς φθορᾶς καὶ δουλείας τῆς θανατηφόρου καὶ πικρᾶς ἀπαλλάξας, τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν περιέθηκεν αὐτῇ, ἅγιον τοῦτο τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ ἀϊδιότητος καλλώπισμα περιθίεις, τὴν ἀθανασίαν. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. iii. c. 1. Oper. p. 215.

10. Τὸ δὲ καταβεβηκὸς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπῆρχε· καὶ, διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, ἵνα χωρηθῇαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν δυνηθῇ. Οὐ δὴ πού ὃ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν εἰς κακὸν γέγονεν αὐτῷ μεταβολή.—

Εἰ δὲ, σῶμα θνητὸν καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀναλαβὼν, ὁ ἀθάνατος Θεὸς Λόγος δοκεῖ τῷ Κέλσῳ ἀλλάττεσθαι καὶ μεταπλάττεσθαι, μανθανέτω, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος, τῇ οὐσίᾳ μένων Λόγος, οὐδὲν μὲν πάσχει ὧν πάσχει τὸ σῶμα ἢ ἡ ψυχὴ· συγκαταβαίνων δ' ἐστ' ὅτε τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ αὐτοῦ τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς θεϊότητος βλέπειν, οἷονεὶ σὰρξ γίνεται, σωματικῶς λαλούμενος, ἔως ὁ τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν παραδεξάμενος, κατὰ βραχὺ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου μετεωριζόμενος, δυνηθῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν (ἵν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω) προηγουμένην μορφὴν θεάσασθαι.—

Ὅθεν, οὐχ ὥς ὁ Κέλσος καὶ οἱ παραπλήσιοι αὐτῷ βούλονται, μετεμορφώθη ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· καὶ, εἰς τὸ ὑψηλὸν ὄρος ἀναβάς, ἄλλην ἔδειξε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μορφὴν καὶ πολλῷ κρείττονα, ἧς οἱ κάτω μένοντες, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι αὐτῷ εἰς ὕψος ἀκολουθεῖν, ἐθεώρουν. Οὐ γὰρ εἶχον οἱ κάτω ὀφθαλμοὺς δυναμένους βλέπειν τὴν τοῦ Λόγου ἐπὶ τὸ ἔνδοξον καὶ θεϊότερον μεταμόρφωσιν.—

Φησὶν οὖν ἐξῆς (ὁ Κέλσος), "Ὅτι ἦτοι ὥς ἀληθῶς μεταβάλλει ὁ Θεός, ὥσπερ οὗτοί φασιν, εἰς σῶμα θνητὸν, καὶ προείρηται τὸ ἀδύνατον.—

Καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο λέγοιτ' ἂν, πῇ μὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ θείου Λόγου φύσεως ὄντος Θεοῦ, πῇ δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἰησοῦ ψυχῆς.—

Ταῦτα δ' ἐπιστάμενος, ὁ θεῖος Λόγος πολλὰ πολλαχοῦ λέγει τῶν γραφῶν. Ἀρκεῖ δ', ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, μίαν παραθέσθαι Παύλου λέξιν, οὕτως ἔχουσαν· Τοῦτο φρονεῖσθω ἐν ὑμῖν, ὁ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ὃς, ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐκ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ· ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λα-

βών· καὶ, σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε, καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iv. p. 169—172. Vide etiam Orig. Comment. in Johan. Oper. vol. ii. p. 34, 35, 145, 306.

11. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, Θεὸς ὑπάρχων ἐκ Θεοῦ, κεκένωκεν ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς, καθεὶς ἐθελοντὴς ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν, καὶ τὴν ἄδοξον ταύτην σάρκα ἡμπέσχετο, λοιπὸν καὶ ὑπερυψοῦσθαι λέγεται καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔχων διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον μονονουχὶ καὶ ἐν χάριτος μοῖρα λαμβάνει τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου φωνήν. Ἄλλ' ἦν, τὸ χρῆμα καὶ τὸ ἀληθές, οὐ δόσις ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν οὐκ ἐνόντων αὐτῷ φυσικῶς, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· νοῦιτο δ' αὖ μᾶλλον ἀναφοίτησις καὶ ἀναδρομὴ πρὸς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ οὐσιωδῶς καὶ ἀναποβλήτως ὑπάρχων αὐτῷ. Hippolyt. Comment. in Gen. Oper. vol. ii. p. 29.

12. Πῶς σὺ λέγεις ἄνθρωπον κατεξαίρετον τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ οὐ Θεὸν ὄντα ἀληθινόν, καὶ προσκυνούμενον παρὰ πάσης κτίσεως σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθενου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας; Δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ κατεδέξατο γενέσθαι ἐκ γυναικός· ὅθεν καὶ τὸ πάθος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατεδέξατο, κενώσας ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ταπεινώσας ἕως θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ, ἴσα Θεοῦ ὑπάρχει. Dionys. Alex. Epist. adv. Paul. Samos. Oper. p. 210, 211.

13. Εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς θεότητος εἰς τὸν βίον ἐληλυθότος. Κενωθείς γὰρ, καὶ τὴν μορφήν τοῦ δούλου προσλαβὼν, εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελειότητα πάλιν ἀνεπληρώθη καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν. Αὐτὸς γὰρ, ἐν ἑαυτῷ σμικρυνθεὶς, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσιν ἀναλυθεὶς, ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σμικρότητος καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μερῶν εἰς τὴν συμπλήρωσιν πάλιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος κατέστη, οὐδέποτε τοῦ τέλειος εἶναι μειωθείς. Method. Sympos. p. 115.

14. Θελήματι Θεοῦ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ γενόμενος, καὶ σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἀπελείφθη τῆς Θεότητος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ, ἵνα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἡ δόξης τελείας ἀποστῇ πτωχεύσας, πλούσιος ὢν, τοῦτο ἐγένετο· ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ τὸν θάνατον, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, ἀναδέξεται. Petr. Alex. de Divin. apud Routh. Rel. Sacr. vol. iii. p. 344.

15. Ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεφητεύετο ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις· καὶ, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πάσῃ, πεπίστευται Θεὸς μὲν κενώσας ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ. Concil. Antioch. Epist. ad Paul. Samos. apud Routh. Rel. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 473:

TEXT XXX.

COLOSS. i. 15—17.

“Ὁς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως· ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα, τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε ἀρχαὶ, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι· τὰ πάντα, δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν, ἔκτισται· καὶ αὐτός ἐστι πρὸ πάντων, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε.

1. Καὶ τὸ οὖν Ἰσραὴλ ὄνομα τοῦτο σημαίνει, Ἄνθρωπος νικῶν Δύναμιν—“Ὅπερ καὶ διὰ τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς πάλης, ἣν ἐπάλαισεν Ἰακώβ, μετὰ τοῦ φαινομένου μὲν ἐκ τοῦ τῇ τοῦ Πατρὸς βουλήν ὑπηρετεῖν, Θεοῦ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εἶναι Τέκνον πρωτότοκον τῶν ὅλων κτίσμάτων, ἐπεπροφητεύετο, οὕτως καὶ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος ὁ Χριστὸς ποιήσκειν. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 277, 278. Comp. Ibid. p. 222.

2. Non enim tantum hic, sed nec quidem ex his quæ constituta et in subjectione sunt, comparabitur Verbo Dei, per quem facta sunt omnia, qui est Dominus noster Jesus Christus. Quoniam enim sive angeli, sive archangeli, sive throni, sive dominationes, ab eo qui super omnes est Deus et constituta sunt, et facta per Verbum ejus, Joannes quidem sic significavit. Cum enim dixisset de Verbo Dei, quoniam erat in Patre, adjecit: *Omnia per eum facta sunt, et sine eo factum est nihil.* Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iii. c. 8. p. 179.

3. Omnia igitur talia circumscribere volens discipulus Domini,

et regulam veritatis constituere in Ecclesia, quia est unus Deus omnipotens, qui per Verbum suum *omnia fecit, et visibilia et invisibilia*; significans quoque, quoniam per Verbum, per quod Deus perfecit conditionem, in hoc et salutem his qui in conditione sunt præstitit hominibus: sic inchoavit in ea quæ est secundum evangelium doctrina: *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum: hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt: et sine ipso factum est nihil, quod factum est.* Iren. adv. hæer. lib. iii. c. 11. § 8, 9. p. 184.

4. Ἔστιν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐν ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ. Πρὸς αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἐνδὲς ὄντος τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Athenag. Legat. § ix. p. 38.

5. Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo *visibilia et invisibilia, throni, virtutes, et dominationes, per ipsum et in ipso, creata esse* referuntur: cum virtutes cœlestes per hominem fieri non potuerint, quæ ante hominem ipsum esse debuerint? Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 610.

6. Verbum caro factus habitavit in nobis: ex nobis hic Christus, non homo tantum quia hominis filius, sed etiam Deus quia Dei Filius comprobatur.

Quod si et *primogenitus omnis creaturæ* ab apostolo dictus sit Christus; nisi quoniam, secundum divinitatem, ante omnem creaturam ex Patre Deo Sermo processit? Quod nisi ita hæretici acceperint, Christum hominem primogenitum omnis creaturæ monstrare cogentur: quod facere non poterunt.

Aut igitur ante omnem est creaturam, ut primogenitus sit omni creaturæ; et non homo est tantum, quia homo post omnem creaturam est: aut homo tantum est; et est post omnem creaturam.

Et quomodo primogenitus est omnis creaturæ: nisi quoniam dum Verbum illud, quod est ante omnem creaturam et ideo primogenitus omnis creaturæ, caro fit, et habitat in nobis; hoc est adsumit hunc hominem, qui est post omnem creaturam, et sic cum illo et in illo habitat in nobis, ut neque homo Christo subtrahatur, neque divinitas negetur?

Nam, si tantummodo ante omnem creaturam est, homo in illo subtractus est: si autem tantummodo homo est, divinitas, quæ ante omnem creaturam est, intercepta est.

Utrumque ergo in Christo confœderatum est, et utrumque conjunctum est, et utrumque connexum est. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 611, 612.

7. Cum manifestum sit *omnia esse facta per Christum*: aut *ante omnia est*, quoniam *omnia per ipsum*; et merito et Deus est: aut, quia homo est, post omnia est; et merito per ipsum nihil factum est.

Sed, nihil per ipsum factum esse, non possumus dicere; cum animadvertamus, *omnia per ipsum facta esse*, scriptum.

Non ergo post omnia est; id est, non homo tantum est, qui post omnia est: sed et Deus; quoniam Deus ante omnia est. *Ante omnia est* enim, quia *per ipsum omnia*: ne, si homo tantum, nihil per ipsum; aut, si *omnia per ipsum*, non homo tantum: quoniam, si homo tantum, non omnia per ipsum, imo nihil per ipsum.

Quid ergo respondent, nihil per ipsum, ut homo sit tantum? Quomodo ergo *omnia per ipsum*?

Ergo non homo tantummodo est, sed et Deus; siquidem *omnia sunt per ipsum*: ut merito intelligere debeamus, nec hominem esse Christum tantummodo qui est post omnia, sed et Deum cum *per ipsum facta sint omnia*. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 609.

8. Καὶ, περὶ τούτου δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω, ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ, πρὸς τὰς Κέλσου κατηγορίας εἴρηται· ἐν οἷς ἀπεδείκνυτο ὁ πάσης κτίσεως πρωτότοκος, ἀνεληφὼς σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην· καὶ ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἐνετείλατο περὶ τῶν τοσούτων ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ ἐκτίσθῃ· καὶ ὅτι ὁ τὴν ἐντολὴν λαβὼν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἦν. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 79.

9. Οὐ μόνος δὲ μέγας καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ· μετέδωκε γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς μεγαλειότητος τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ πάσης κτίσεως· ἵν', εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ τυγχάνων τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ μεγέθει σώζῃ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Πατρός. Οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τ' ἦν, εἶναι σύμμετρον (ἵν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω) καὶ καλὴν

εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ, μὴ καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους παριστᾶσαν τὴν εἰκόνα. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi. p. 323.

10. Χρεία δὲ τῷ μέλλοντι εἰς ταῦτα λέγειν καλῶς, ἵνα περὶ Χριστιανῶν ἀπολογήσῃται, ἐντρεπομένων ἄλλο τι σέβειν, παρὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεόν, καὶ τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως Λόγον αὐτοῦ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vii. p. 378.

11. Ἐπεὶ ἄνθρωπος μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀποθανὼν, οὐκ ἦν δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἡ Ἀλήθεια, καὶ ἡ Σοφία, καὶ ἡ Εἰρήνη, καὶ ἡ Δικαιοσύνη, καὶ περὶ οὗ γέγραπται Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος· οὐκ ἀπέθανεν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, καὶ ἡ Ἀλήθεια, καὶ ἡ Σοφία, καὶ ἡ Δικαιοσύνη· ἀνεπίδεκτος γὰρ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, θανάτου. Orig. Comment. in Johan. Oper. vol. ii. p. 363. Vide etiam Ibid. p. 61, 62.

12. Οὐχ ὥς οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ μυθογράφοι λέγουσιν υἱοὺς θεῶν ἐκ συνουσίας γεννωμένους, ἀλλ' ὥς ἀλήθεια διηγεῖται, τὸν Λόγον τὸν ὄντα διαπαντὸς ἐνδιάθετον ἐν καρδίᾳ Θεοῦ. Πρὸ γάρ τι γίνεσθαι, τοῦτον εἶχε σύμβουλον, ἐαυτοῦ Νοῦν καὶ Φρόνησιν ὄντα. "Ὅποτε δὴ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἐβουλεύσατο, τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον ἐγέννησε προφορικόν, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως· οὐ κενωθείς αὐτὸς τοῦ Λόγου, ἀλλὰ Λόγον γεννήσας, καὶ τῷ Λόγῳ αὐτοῦ διαπαντὸς ὁμιλῶν. "Ὅθεν διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς αἱ ἅγαι γραφαί, καὶ πάντες οἱ πνευματοφόροι, ἐξ ὧν Ἰωάννης λέγει· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· δεικνύς, ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις μόνος ἦν ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ Λόγος. Ἐπειτα λέγει· Καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος· πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν. Theoph. ad Autol. lib. ii. § 22. p. 365.

13. Πρὸς οὓς καὶ εἶποι ἄν τις· Ὡς ῥιψοκίνδυνοι ἄνθρωποι, ποίημα ὁ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, ὁ ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἐωσφόρου γεννηθεὶς, ὁ εἰπὼν ὥς Σοφία, Πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾷ με; Καὶ πολλαχοῦ δὲ τῶν θείων λογίων γεγεννησθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ γεγενῆναι, τὸν Υἱὸν λεγόμενον εὗροι τις ἄν· ὑφ' ὧν καταφανῶς ἐλέγχονται τὰ ψεύδη περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου γεννήσεως ὑπολαμβάνοντες, οἱ ποίησιν αὐτοῦ τὴν θείαν καὶ ἄρρητον γέννησιν λέγειν τολμῶντες. Dionys. Roman. cont. Sabell. apud Athan. Epist. de Synod. Nic. cont. hæc. Arian. decret. Oper. vol. i. p. 422.

14. Γέγραπται· Τὰ πάντα, δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν, ἔκτισται.

Οὕτω δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντος καὶ ἐνεργοῦντος, ὡς Λόγου ἅμα καὶ Θεοῦ· δι' οὗ ὁ Πατὴρ πάντα πεποίηκεν, οὐχ ὡς δι' ὄργάνου, οὐδ' ὡς δι' ἐπιστήμης ἀνυποστάτου· γεννήσαντος μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν ὡς ζῶσαν ἐνέργειαν καὶ ἐνυπόστατον, ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν. Concil. Antioch. Epist. ad Paul. Samos. apud Routh. Rel. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 466. Labb. Concil. vol. i. p. 841.

15. Christum primogenitum esse, et ipsum esse Sapientiam Dei, per quem omnia facta sint.—Item Paulus ad Colossenses : *Qui est imago Dei invisibilis, et primogenitus totius creaturæ.* Cyprian. adv. Jud. lib. ii. § 1. Oper. vol. i. p. 31, 32.

TEXT XXXI.

COLOSS. ii. 9.

“Οτι καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότητος σωματικῶς.

1. Ὁ Πατὴρ ἐφάνέρωσεν ἡμῖν τὸν ὄντα σὺν αὐτῷ αἰὲ Χριστὸν, ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότητος σωματικῶς.

Ἀκούετε, πῶς λέγει τὸ μυστήριον ὁ ἱερὸς ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, τὸ γὰρ σωματικῶς κατοικεῖν τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ.

Ἐπειδὴ σὰρξ γέγονεν ὁ Λόγος ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐ παρὰ τὸ γενέσθαι οὖν σῶμα τὸν Χριστὸν, οὐκ ἐπανεστή ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ χωρισθῆναι τῷ γενομένῳ σαρκί· Σὰρξ ὁ Λόγος γέγονε· καὶ δείκνυσιν, ὅτι ἄτρεπτος ὁ Χριστὸς γενόμενος σὰρξ, αἰὲ συναΐδιος ὢν τοῦ γεννήσαντος· ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότητος σωματικῶς. Dionys. Alex. adv. Paul. Samos. quæst. vii. Oper. p. 259.

2. Τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ, ὄντα Θεὸν μὲν καὶ Κύριον τῶν γεννητῶν ἀπάντων, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀποσταλέντα ἐξ οὐρανῶν, καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐνηθροπηκέναι.

Διόπερ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου σῶμα, χωρῆσαν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότητος σωματικῶς, τῇ Θεότητι ἀτρέπτως ἥνωται καὶ τεθεο-

ποίηται· οὗ χάριν, ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.
 Concil. Antioch. Epist. ad Paul. Samos. apud Routh. Rel.
 Sacr. vol. ii. p. 473.

TEXT XXXII.

1 TIM. iii. 16.

Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυσ-
 τήριον· Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι,
 ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ἐχηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ,
 ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

1. Πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰῶσιν;—Πᾶς δεσμὸς ἠφανίζετο
 κακίας, ἄγνοια καθηρεῖτο, παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφθείρετο, Θεοῦ ἀν-
 θρωπίνως φανερωμένου εἰς καινότητα αἰδίου ζωῆς. Ignat. Epist.
 ad Ephes. § xix. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. ii. p. 16.

2. Εἷς ἱατρός ἐστὶν σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ
 ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός,—καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Οεοῦ.
 Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. § vii. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. ii. p. 13.

3. Ὁ δὲ, διὰ γενέσεως,—φανῇ Θεὸς ἐν σαρκί, τὴν δύναμιν
 ἐνδεικνύμενος. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi. Oper. p. 684.

4. Οἱ πιστοὶ λογισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔγνωσαν Πατρὸς μυστήρια·
 οὗ χάριν ἀπέστειλε Λόγον, ἵνα κόσμῳ φανῇ· ὃς, ὑπὸ λαοῦ ἀτι-
 μασθεὶς, διὰ ἀποστόλων κηρυχθεὶς, ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν ἐπιστεύθη. Οὗτος
 ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.—οὗτος ὁ αἰεὶ. Epist. ad Diognet. in Oper. Justin.
 p. 387.

5. Πιστεύσωμεν οὖν, κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὅτι
 Θεὸς Λόγος ἀπ' οὐρανῶν κατήλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Μα-
 ρίαν· ἵνα, σαρκωθεὶς ἐξ αὐτῆς, λαβὼν δὲ καὶ ψυχὴν τὴν ἀνθρω-
 πίνην, λογικὴν δὲ λέγω, γεγονῶς πάντα ὅσα ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, σῶσῃ
 τὸν πεπτωκότα, καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ἀνθρώποις παράσχη τοῖς πιστεύ-
 ουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.

Ἐν πᾶσιν οὖν ἀποδεδεικται ἡμῖν τῆς ἀληθείας Λόγος, ὅτι εἰς

ἐστὶν ὁ Πατὴρ, οὗ πάρεστι Λόγος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν· ὃν, ὑστέροις καιροῖς, καθὼς εἵπαμεν ἀνωτέρω, ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Πατὴρ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων.

Οὗτος, διὰ Νόμον καὶ Προφητῶν, ἐκηρύχθη παρεσόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον. Καθ' ὃν οὖν τρόπον ἐκηρύχθη, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ παρὼν ἐφανερώσεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ παρθένου καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, καινὸς ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, τὸ μὲν οὐράνιον ἔχων τὸ πατρῷον ὡς Λόγος, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγειον ὡς ἐκ παλαιοῦ Ἀδὰμ διὰ παρθένου σαρκούμενος.

Οὗτος, προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον, Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη, ἄνθρωπος τέλειος προελθών. Hippolyt. cont. Noet. c. 17. Oper. vol. ii. p. 18, 19.

6. Εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ συναΐδιος Λόγος· ἐν αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον, ἀόρατος Θεὸς, καὶ ὁρατὸς γενόμενος. Θεὸς γὰρ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, γενόμενος ἐκ γυναικὸς ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθείς. Dionys. Alex. Epist. adv. Paul. Samos. Oper. p. 211.

[Si, in commate 16, legendum sit, juxta nonnullos, ὃς, potius quam Θεός: mens luci totius, nihilominus, prorsus immota manebit: vocola ὃς in commate 16, ad antecedens Θεοῦ in commate 15, necessario scilicet, ad hunc modum, referente.

Ἐὰν δὲ βραδύνω, ἵνα εἰδῇς πῶς δεῖ ἐν οἴκῳ ΘΕΟΥ ἀναστρέφεσθαι (ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ ζῶντος, στύλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον), ΟΣ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ, ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

Partem commatis 16 posteriorem verti, *Qui in carne manifestatus est, ille in spiritu justificatus est*, Græcæ Linguae idioma, nisi perquam barbarè, omnino vetat. Si enim talis fuisset mens apostoli, scripsisset, non ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, sed ὁ ἐν σαρκί φανερώθεις ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι.]

TEXT XXXIII.

HEB. i. 8.

Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Υἱόν· Ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ Θεὸς, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.

1. Καὶ, παρὰ τὸν νοούμενον ποιητὴν τῶν ὅλων, ἄλλος τις κυριολογεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος· οὐ μόνον δὲ διὰ Μωσέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ Δαβίδ.

Καὶ γὰρ, δι' ἐκείνου, εἴρηται· Λέγει ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου, Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου· ὡς προεῖρηκα.

Καὶ πάλιν, ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις· Ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ Θεὸς, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος. Ῥάβδος ἐνθύτητος ἢ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου. Ἠγάπησας δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν. Διὰ τοῦτο, ἔχρισέ σε ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός σου, ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου.

Εἰ οὖν καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ θεολογεῖν καὶ κυριολογεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον φατέ ὑμεῖς παρὰ τὸν Πατέρα τῶν ὅλων καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀποκρίνασθέ μοι. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 215.

2. Ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ Θεός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.—

Ὅτι γοῦν καὶ προσκυνητός ἐστι καὶ Θεός καὶ Χριστός ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα ποιήσαντος μαρτυρούμενος, καὶ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι διαρρήδην σημαίνουσι. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 223.

3. Neque enim Dominus, neque Spiritus Sanctus, neque apostoli, eum, qui non esset Deus, definitivè et absolutè *Deum* nominassent aliquando, nisi esset verus Deus : neque *Dominum* appellassent aliquem ex sua persona, nisi, qui dominatur omnium *Deum* Patrem, et Filium ejus qui dominium accepit a Patre suo omnis conditionis ; quemadmodum habet illud : *Dixit Dominus Domino meo ; Sede a dextris meis, quoadusque ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum*. Patrem enim Filio colloquutum ostendit : qui et dedit ei hæreditatem gentium, et

subjecit ei omnes inimicos. Verè igitur cum Pater sit Dominus, et Filius verè sit Dominus, merito Spiritus Sanctus *Domini* appellatione signavit eos.

Et iterum, in eversione Sodomitarum, Scriptura ait: *Et pluit Dominus* (Heb. *Jehovah*) *super Sodomam et Gomorrhham ignem et sulphur a Domino* (Heb. *Jehovah*) *de cælo*. Filium enim hic significat, qui et Abrahæ conloquutus sit, et a Patre accepisse potestatem ad judicandum Sodomitas propter iniquitatem eorum.

Similiter habet illud: *Sedes tua, Deus, in æternum. Virga directionis, virga regni tui. Dilexisti justitiam, et odisti iniquitatem: propterea, unxit te Deus, Deus tuus*. Utrosque enim *Dei* appellatione significavit Spiritus; et eum qui ungitur Filium, et eum qui ungit (id est) Patrem.

Et iterum: *Deus stetit in synagoga deorum; in medio autem deos discernit*. De Patre et Filio, et de his qui adoptionem perceperunt, dicit. Hi autem sunt Ecclesia: hæc enim est synagoga Dei, quam Deus, hoc est Filius ipse, per semetipsum collegit.

De quo iterum dicit: *Deus deorum Dominus* (Heb. *Jehovah*) *loquutus est, et vocavit terram*. Quis Deus, de quo dixit: *Deus manifestè veniet, Deus noster; et non silebit?* Hoc est Filius: qui, secundum manifestationem hominibus, advenit; qui dicit palam, *Apparui his qui me non quærunt*. Quorum autem deorum, quibus dicit: *Ego dixi; Dii estis, et filii Altissimi omnes?* Hi scilicet, qui adoptionis gratiam adepti sunt, per quem clamamus, *Abba Pater*.

Nemo igitur alius, quemadmodum prædixi, *Deus* nominatur, aut *Dominus* appellatur, nisi qui est omnium Deus et Dominus; qui et Moysi dixit; *Ego sum, qui sum; et sic dices filiis Israel, Qui est misit me ad vos*: et hujus Filius Jesus Christus Dominus noster, qui filios Dei facit credentes in nomen suum. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iii. c. 6. p. 174, 175.

4. Cæterum ubique teneo unam substantiam in tribus cohærentibus. Tamen alium dicam oportet ex necessitate sensus, eum qui jubet, et eum qui facit. Nam nec juberet si ipse

faceret, dum juberet fieri per eum. Tamen jubebat, haud sibi jussurus si unus esset; aut sine jussu factururus, quia non expectasset ut sibi juberet.

Ergo, inquis, si Deus dixit, et Deus fecit; si alius Deus dixit, et alius fecit: duo Dii prædicantur.

Si tam durus es, puta interim: et, ut adhuc amplius hoc putes, accipe et in psalmo duos *Deos* dictos. *Thronus tuus, Deus, in ævum: virga regni tui. Dilexisti justitiam, et odisti iniquitatem: propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus.* Si ad *Deum* loquitur, et unctum *Deum* a *Deo* affirmat: sed hic duos *Deos* pro virga regni tui. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 9. Oper. p. 413.

5. Quod Deus Christus.—Item in psalmo xlv: *Thronus tuus, Deus, in secula seculorum. Virga æquitatis, virga regni tui. Dilexisti justitiam, et odisti iniquitatem: propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo exultationis, super participes tuos.* Cyprian. adv. Jud. lib. ii. § 6. Oper. vol. i. p. 34, 35.

6. Παραθέσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς προφητείας, πολὺ ἂν εἴη· ἀρκεῖ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ τεσσαροκοστοῦ καὶ τετάρτου ψαλμοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται πρὸς ἄλλοις εἶναι καὶ ῥῶδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ Θεὸς ἀνηγόρευται σαφῶς, διὰ τούτων· Ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χεῖλεσί σου· διὰ τοῦτο εὐλόγησέ σε ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Πρόσχες δ' ἐπιμελῶς τοῖς ἐξῆς, ἔνθα Θεὸς εἴρηται. Ὁ θρόνος σου, γάρ φησιν, ὁ Θεὸς, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος. Ῥάβδος εὐθύτητος, ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου. Ἠγάπησας δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέ σε ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός σου, ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως, παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου.

Καὶ κατανόει, ὅτι Θεῷ ὁμιλῶν ὁ προφήτης, οὗ ὁ θρόνος ἐστὶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ ῥάβδος εὐθύτητος ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, τοῦτον τὸν Θεὸν φησι κεχρίσθαι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ Θεός· κεχρίσθαι δὲ, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους αὐτοῦ· οὗτος ἠγάπησε δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἐμίσησεν ἀνομίαν. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 43.

7. Ὃς δ' ἂν ἀντιμάχεται τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸν μὴ εἶναι πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· πιστεύειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν, φάσκων δύο Θεοὺς καταγγέλλεσθαι ἐὰν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸς κηρύσσεται, τοῦτον ἄλ-

λότριον τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανονοῦ ἡγούμεθα· καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ καθολικαὶ ἐκκλησίαι συμφωνοῦσιν ἡμῖν. Περὶ γὰρ τούτου γέγραπται· Ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ Θεὸς, εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος. Concil. Antioch. Epist. ad Paul. Samos. apud Routh. Rel. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 466.

8. Factus est, et Dei Filius per Spiritum, et hominis per carnem: id est, et Deus et homo. Dei virtus in eo, ex operibus quæ fecit, apparuit: fragilitas hominis, ex passione quam per tulit; quam cur suscepit, paulo post docebo. Interim, et Deum fuisse et hominem, ex utroque genere permistum, prophetis vaticinantibus discimus.—Item David, in psalmo xlv: *Thronus tuus, Deus, in secula seculorum*. Lactant. Instit. lib. iv. § 13. p. 388.

TEXT XXXIV.

HEB. ii. 7, 8, 9.

Ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους· δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτὸν, καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου. Πάντα ὑπετάξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, οὐδὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ ἀνυπότακτον· νῦν δὲ οὐπω ὁρῶμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὑποτεταγμένα· τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἡλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν, διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου, δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον· ὅπως χάριτι Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσεται θανάτου.

1. Dictus est quidem *Magni consilii Angelus*, id est, *Nuncius*: officii, non naturæ, vocabulo. Magnum enim cogitatum Patris, super hominis scilicet restitutione, annunciaturus seculo erat.

Non ideo tamen sic angelus intelligendus, ut Gabriel aut Michael. Nam et Filius, a Domino vineæ, mittitur ad cultores, sicut et famuli, de fructibus petatum. Sed non propterea unus ex famulis deputabitur Filius, quia famulorum successit officio.

Facilius ergo dicam, si forte ipsum Filium *angelum*, id est, *nuncium Patris*, quam *angelum in Filio*.

Sed, quum de Filio ipso sit pronunciatum; *Minuisti eum modico quid citra angelos*: quomodo videbitur angelum induisse, sic infra angelos diminutus, dum homo fit, qua caro et anima et filius hominis? Qua autem Spiritus Dei et Virtus Altissimi, non potest infra angelos haberi, Deus scilicet et Dei Filius. Quanto ergo, dum hominem gestat, minor angelis factus est: tanto nondum angelum gestat. Tertull. de carn. Christ. § 10. Oper. p. 32.

2. Nam et profitemur, Christum semper egisse in Dei Patris nomine, ipsum ab initio conversatum, ipsum congressum cum patriarchis et prophetis, Filium Creatoris, Sermonem ejus, quem ex semetipso proferendo Filium fecit, ut exinde omni dispositioni suæ voluntatique præfecit, *diminuens illum modico citra angelos*, sicut apud eum scriptum est: qua diminutione, in hæc quoque dispositus est a Patre, quæ ut humana reprehenditis, ediscens jam inde a primordio, jam inde hominem, quod erat futurus in fine. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. ii. § 21. Oper. p. 189.

TEXT XXXV.

REV. i. 8, 11. xxii. 13.

Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, λέγει ὁ Κύριος, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος.

1. Pater quidem invisibilis, de quo et Dominus dixit: *Deum nemo vidit unquam*.

Verbum autem ejus, quemadmodum volebat ipse, et ad utilitatem videntium claritatem monstrabat Patris, et dispositiones

exponebat. Quemadmodum et Dominus dixit: *Unigenitus Deus qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit.*

Et ipse interpretatur Patris Verbum, utpote dives et multus existens, non in una figura nec in uno caractere videbatur videntibus eum, sed secundum dispensationem ejus causas sive efficaciam, sicut in Daniele scriptum est.

Aliquando enim cum his, qui erant circa Ananiam, Azariam, Mizaelem, videbatur; assistens eis in fornace ignis et in camino, et liberans eos de igne. *Et visio, inquit, quarti similis Filio Dei.*

Rursum hic idem videbitur, quasi Filius hominis, in nubibus cœli veniens, et appropinquans ad Veterem dierum, et sumens ab eo universam potestatem et gloriam et regnum. *Et potestas, inquit, ejus potestas æterna; et regnum ejus non interibit.*

Sed et Joannes, Domini discipulus, in Apocalypsi, sacerdotalem et gloriosum regni ejus videns adventum, *Conversus sum, inquit, videre vocem quæ loquebatur mecum: et conversus vidi septem candelabra aurea, et inter candelabra similem Filio hominis.* Joanne verò non sustinente visionem, *Et cecidi enim, inquit, ad pedes ejus quasi mortuus* (ut fieret quod scriptum est, *Nemo vidit Deum, et vivet*): et vivificans eum Verbum, et admonens quoniam ipse est in cujus pectore recumbebat ad cœnam interrogans quis esset qui inciperet eum tradere, et dicebat; *Ego sum primus et novissimus, et qui vivo et fui mortuus, et ecce vivo in secula seculorum, et habeo claves mortis et inferorum.* Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 37. § 11, 12. p. 270.

2. Καὶ δὴ οὐ γίνεται ἀτεχνῶς ἓν ὡς ἓν, οὐδὲ πολλὰ ὡς μέρη, ὁ Υἱός· ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα ἓν. "Ἐνθεν καὶ πάντα· κύκλος γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς πασῶν τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς ἓν εἰλουμένων καὶ ἐνουμένων. Διὰ τοῦτο, "Ἄλφα καὶ "Ωμέγα ὁ Λόγος εἴρηται· οὗ μόνου τὸ τέλος ἀρχὴ γίνεται, καὶ τελευτᾷ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνωθεν ἀρχὴν, οὐδαμοῦ διάστασιν λαβόν. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iv. Oper. p. 537.

3. Οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς εἴρηται ὁ Κύριος "Ἄλφα καὶ "Ωμέγα, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iv. Oper. p. 684.

4. Interim hic mihi promotum sit responsum adversus id,

quod et de Apocalypsi Joannis proferunt ; *Ego Dominus, qui est et qui fuit et venit, Omnipotens* : et sicubi alibi Dei Omnipotentis appellationem non putant etiam Filio convenire, quasi qui venturus sit Omnipotens, cum et Filius Omnipotentis tam Omnipotens sit Dei Filius, quam Deus Dei Filius.

Sed hanc societatem nominum paternorum in Filio ne facile perspiciant, perturbat illos scriptura, si quando unicum Deum statuit : quasi non eadem et Deos et Dominos duos proposuerit, ut supra ostendimus. Ergo, quia duos et unum, inquirunt, invenimus : ideo ambo unus atque idem, et Filius, et Pater.

Porro non periclitatur scriptura, ut illi de tua argumentatione succurras, ne sibi contraria videatur. Habet rationem, et quum unicum Deum statuit, et quum duos Patrem et Filium ostendit : et sufficit sibi. Filium nominari ab ea constat. Salvo enim Filio, rectè unicum Deum potest determinasse, cujus est Filius. Non enim desinit esse, qui habet Filium, ipse unicus : suo scilicet nomine, quotiens sine Filio nominatur. Sine Filio autem nominatur, quum principaliter determinatur ut prima persona quæ ante Filii nomen erat proponenda : quia Pater antè cognoscitur, et post Patrem Filius nominatur. Igitur unus Deus Pater, et absque eo alius non est. Quod ipse inferens, non Filium negat, sed alium Deum. Cæterum alius a Patre Filius non est.

Sermone ejus cœli firmati sunt : et, Spiritu ejus, omnis virtus eorum. Et Sermo autem Virtus et Sophia, ipse erit Dei Filius. Ita, si per Filium omnia, cœlum quoque per Filium extendens, non solus extendit, nisi illa ratione qua cæteris solus.

Hic est Filius meus dilectus : hunc audite. Ita, Filium subjungens, ipse interpretator est, quomodo cœlum solus extendere : scilicet, cum Filio solus, sicut cum Filio unum.

Proinde et Filii erit Vox, *Extendi cœlum solus* : quia Sermone cœli confirmati sunt. Quia, Sophia in Sermone adsistente, paratum est cœlum, et *omnia per Sermonem facta sunt* : competit et Filium solum extendisse cœlum, quia solus operationi Patris ministravit.

Idem erit dicens : *Ego primus, et in superventura ego sum.*

Primum scilicet omnium Sermo : *In principio erat Sermo* ; in quo principio prolatus a Patre est. Cæterum Pater, non habens initium, ut a nullo prolatus, ut innatus, non potest videri. Qui solus fuit semper, ordinem habere non potuit.

Igitur, si propter ea eundem et Patrem et Filium credendum putaverunt, ut unum Deum vindicent : salva est unio ejus, qui, quum sit unus, habeat et Filium, æquè et ipsum eisdem scripturis comprehensum. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 12, 14. Oper. p. 418, 419. Vide etiam Tertull. de monogam. § 5. Oper. p. 573, 574.

5. Quod Deus Christus.—Item in Apocalypsi : *Ego sum A et Ω, initium et finis. Ego sitienti dabo de fonte aquæ vitæ gratis. Qui vicerit, possidebit ea et eorum hæreditatem : et ero ejus Deus, et ille erit mihi Filius.* Cyprian. adv. Jud. lib. ii. § 6. Oper. vol. i. p. 34, 35, 36. Vide etiam Orig. Comment. in Joan. Oper. vol. ii. p. 5, 19, 21, 31, 32, 33.

Dr. Priestley, it will be recollected, lays it down, as AN INCONTROVERTIBLE FACT : that, *In the early times of the Church, the Scriptures were constantly read, by persons better qualified to understand the language of them than we at this time can pretend to be,* WITHOUT SUGGESTING ANY SUCH NOTIONS OF THE DIVINITY OR THE PREEXISTENCE OF CHRIST AS ARE NOW SUPPOSED TO BE CLEARLY CONTAINED IN THEM.

And, on the alleged FACT thus without hesitation placed before us, that remarkable Historian, it will further be recollected, observes : that *The FACT in question will weigh much with those, who are apt to lay great stress on the usual construction of SOME PARTICULAR TEXTS.*

It may also be useful to remember : that *This same FACT is insinuated, or more than insinuated, both by Mr. Belsham and by Dr. Carpenter.* For, in reference to the texts litigated between modern Trinitarians and modern Antitrinitarians, they distinctly intimate : that *What we may deem THE NATURAL SIG-*

NIFICATION OF WORDS AND PHRASES *was, in truth, NOT the signification annexed to them by men who lived during the early ages of the Church.*

I. Now, that the FACT, *alleged or insinuated* with more or less broadness by these three writers, ought, were it a *real* FACT, to weigh much with every candid inquirer after truth, I will readily allow. But, in sooth, the *real* FACT turns out to be precisely the reverse of the *alleged* FACT.

1. In the early times of the Church, so far were the PARTICULAR TEXTS in question from NOT suggesting any such notions of the divinity or the preëxistence of Christ, as are now, by modern Trinitarians, supposed to be clearly contained in them: that we INVARIABLY find them suggesting, in the early times of the Church, precisely the SAME notions on those important points, as, in these later times, they still *continue* to suggest.

With singular unanimity, the ecclesiastical writers, who flourished *anterior* to the first Council of Nice (for, among these, *exclusively* of their modern postnicene successors, our inquiry into *early* interpretations must obviously be conducted), ALWAYS, so far at least as I have observed, understood and expounded the PARTICULAR TEXTS, *not* as Dr. Priestley and his associates would understand and expound them, but AS CLEARLY INDICATING THE SEVERAL CONNECTED DOCTRINES OF THE TRINITY AND OF CHRIST'S PREEXISTENCE AND INCARNATION AND ESSENTIAL DIVINITY.

2. If, in any one instance, the PARTICULAR TEXTS can be found to have been read by the writers in those early times WITHOUT SUGGESTING ANY SUCH NOTIONS OF THOSE DOCTRINES AS ARE NOW SUPPOSED TO BE CLEARLY CONTAINED IN THEM: that circumstance has escaped my notice.

Since, however, Dr. Priestley asserts, while Mr. Belsham and Dr. Carpenter more than insinuate, the absolute UNIVERSALITY of the circumstance: doubtless, if there be the very smallest modicum of truth in the matter asserted or insinuated, it will be easy to produce, if not *a cloud of instances*, yet at least *a single solitary instance*, in which *some one* of the PARTICULAR TEXTS

was understood, as we are assured they were, in those early days, ALWAYS understood.

II. At present, the matter rests in POSITIVE UNVARYING CONTRADICTION to the Historian's peremptory assertion.

Hence the perfectly reasonable argument, which he would build upon THE FACT ASSERTED, ceases to be *his* property, and becomes the indisputable property of *the Church Catholic*.

Borrowing, therefore, with the requisite alterations, the language of Dr. Priestley himself, the Trinitarian, I conceive, is *now*, after this copious examination, authorised, by the mere stubbornness of naked FACTS, to state the argument of the Historian in manner following.

With those, who deservedly lay great stress on the usual natural construction of the PARTICULAR TEXTS litigated between modern Trinitarians and modern Antitrinitarians, it will weigh much, when they duly consider : that, in the early times of the Church, or in the times which intervened between the apostolic age and the first Council of Nice, the Scriptures were constantly read by persons better qualified to understand the language of them, than either Dr. Priestley or Mr. Belsham or Dr. Carpenter or any other Antitrinitarian in these present days can pretend to be ; and that, to these primitive readers (as we superabundantly learn from yet existing documents), THEY INVARIABLY SUGGESTED PRECISELY THE SAME NOTIONS OF THE PREEXISTENCE AND THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST AS ARE STILL BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH SUPPOSED TO BE CLEARLY CONTAINED IN THEM.

The argument before us, whether in the hands of Dr. Priestley or as occupied by a Trinitarian, rests altogether upon AN ALLEGED FACT.

Precisely, therefore, as THE ALLEGED FACT is *well established* or *not established*, THE ARGUMENT itself is *valid* or *invalid*.

NUMBER II.

RESPECTING THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CHURCH OF JERUSALEM.

SECTION I.

RESPECTING DR. PRIESTLEY'S TREATMENT OF HEGESIPPUS.

FROM the then extant Works of Hegesippus, it is testified by Eusebius: that *That writer symbolised in doctrine with the known Trinitarians, Irenæus and Melito; and, consequently, that He himself was a Trinitarian who held the tenet of Christ's divinity.*

Under this aspect, I have adduced him as a witness for the Trinitarianism of all the Churches from east to west, which he visited in his progress from Asia to Rome about the year 153. See above, book i. chap. 10. § II. 3.

Yet, in defiance of the testimony of Eusebius professedly derived from the very Works of Hegesippus, Dr. Priestley, with his wonted freedom from cautious hesitation, roundly pronounces: that *He was certainly an Antitrinitarian who rejected the divinity of Christ.*

I. If it be asked, on what ground the historian advances this opinion, I can only state: that the argument, by which he undertakes to establish it, is the following.

Eusebius says: that, *From some parts of the writings of Hegesippus, we may collect; that he was a Christian of the Hebrews.* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 22.

Now Dr. Priestley asserts : that *ALL the Hebrew Christians were Antitrinitarians who denied the divinity of Christ.*

But, according to the inference of Eusebius, *Hegesippus was a Christian of the Hebrews.*

Therefore, plainly from Dr. Priestley's premises, *Hegesippus must have been an Antitrinitarian who denied the divinity of Christ.*

II. The opinions of Hegesippus having thus, by an induction from Dr. Priestley's own private hypothesis, been satisfactorily established to be antitrinitarian and humanitarian : a singular perplexity, in regard to the management of his evidence, immediately presents itself.

Hegesippus declares : that *ALL the Churches, which he visited in his progress from Asia to Rome, unanimously held the SAME faith.*

Now this faith, thus unanimously held by *ALL* the visited Churches, he plainly identifies with *his own* faith, by the circumstance of his calling it *the RIGHT faith.*

And this *RIGHT* faith, thus unanimously and harmoniously held both by *himself* and by *all the visited Churches*, he pronounces, agreeably to the concurring assertion of all those visited Churches, to have been *preached both by the Law and by the Prophets, and by the Lord himself.*

Hence, if Hegesippus *must* have been an humanitarianising Antitrinitarian *because* he was a Hebrew Christian : then, plainly, in despite of the positive testimony of Irenæus to a directly *contrary* effect, the *RIGHT* faith, universally held by the visited Churches both in the East and in the West, on the express ground that it was received from Christ and his Apostles, *must* have been the modern antitrinitarian and humanitarian system.

III. This conclusion, inasmuch as it flatly contradicts Irenæus who was intimately acquainted with the doctrines taught both in the East and in the West at the very time that his contemporary Hegesippus was journeying to Rome, has given Dr. Priestley some degree of trouble, and in two several places of

his *History of Early Opinions* has seduced him into no ordinary measure of inconsistency.

1. In one part of his *History*, he states ; that *Hegesippus* found ALL the Churches, which he visited in his journey to Rome, holding the RIGHT faith taught by Christ and the Apostles : and then he adds ; that *This* RIGHT faith was, in the opinion of *Hegesippus*, PROBABLY that of Christ being, not God, but man only. *Hist. of Early Opin.* book iii. chap. 12. Works, vol. vi. p. 469.

Here, so far as I can understand him, Dr. Priestley, though with evident hesitation and with apparently conscious disingenuousness, would, from *The alleged Antitrinitarianism of Hegesippus*, insinuate, rather than directly assert, *The universal Antitrinitarianism of the visited Churches*. For, if, under the aspect of the RIGHT faith, *Hegesippus* found, in all the visited Churches, the doctrine of *Christ being, not God, but man only* : it would inevitably follow ; that *All the Churches, visited by him, were antitrinitarian*.

Dr. Priestley admits : that ALL the visited Churches held the SAME faith. He further admits : that *This* UNIFORM faith is by *Hegesippus* styled THE RIGHT FAITH. But, just as if a bare fact depended upon the theological opinion of a private individual, he is pleased to intimate : that *This* RIGHT FAITH, which, simply in the way of FACT, was held by all the visited Churches, was, in the OPINION of *Hegesippus*, PROBABLY that of Christ being, not God, but man only.

From the alleged individual opinion, then, of *Hegesippus*, respecting the nature of THE RIGHT FAITH, Dr. Priestley would here insinuate the pretended general fact : that THE RIGHT FAITH, held by all the visited Churches, was the modern scheme of *Humanitarian Antitrinitarianism*.

2. Yet, in another and subsequent part of this self-same *History of Early Opinions*, apparently as if compelled by the overpowering testimony of *Irenæus* the contemporary of *Hegesippus*, he tacitly admits the FACT : that *All the visited Churches held the divinity of Christ*. *Hist. of Early Opin.* Conclus. sect. iv. Works, vol. vii. p. 189.

Now this admission obviously requires an explanation of the very strong and peculiar language employed by Hegesippus.

For, if Hegesippus, as Dr. Priestley assures us, believed Christ to be, not God, but man only ; and if all the visited Churches worshipped Christ, as being very God incarnate in very man : it is somewhat incomprehensible, how Hegesippus could say ; that *They held the RIGHT faith, that He and they were jointly comforted by the RIGHT faith of each other, and that This same RIGHT faith of himself and all the visited Churches had been preached by the Lord and had been handed down by the Apostles.*

The matter, truly, seems not a little perplexed : and it is passing hard to understand, how the two diametrically opposite doctrines of *Christ's essential divinity* and *Christ's mere humanity* could be, not only each alike *the RIGHT faith*, but also both of them *that ONE identical faith which was handed down by the Apostles from the teaching of their Master.*

Yet Dr. Priestley is provided with what he deems an easy solution of the difficulty.

In *his* theory, Gnosticism was the sole heresy, which disturbed the early Church. Hence he invites us to believe : that, provided only Hegesippus found all the visited Churches free from Gnosticism, he would be perfectly satisfied. And hence he calls upon us to think with him : that, although Hegesippus deemed Christ to be a mere man, and although the Churches with one accord worshipped him as very God ; still Hegesippus, even quite naturally, would say, that *The Churches retained the RIGHT faith.*

The present invitation seems so very extraordinary, that, lest I should be thought guilty of misrepresentation, the historian shall speak in his own proper words.

That Hegesippus, though an Unitarian himself, should speak as he does of the state of opinions in the several Churches which he visited, as then retaining THE TRUE FAITH, is, I think, very natural. The only heresy, which disturbed the Apostle John and therefore the other Jewish Christians in general, was that

of the Gnostics ; and all the eleven different kinds of heresies, enumerated by this writer, are probably only different branches of that one great heresy. If, therefore, the Churches, which he visited, were free from Gnosticism : he would naturally say, that
 THEY RETAINED THE TRUE FAITH.

Let us now mark the results which follow from this second statement of Dr. Priestley : wherein he plainly, though tacitly, admits the visited Churches to have held trinitarian opinions and thence to have differed in sentiment from the alleged Antitrinitarian Hegesippus.

(1.) According to Dr. Priestley, a primitive Antitrinitarian, it seems, would very naturally say : that *Primitive Trinitarians, provided only they were free from Gnosticism, retained, as Hegesippus speaks, THE TRUE FAITH PREACHED BOTH BY THE LAW AND BY THE PROPHETS AND BY THE LORD HIMSELF.*

In other words, if we may credit Dr. Priestley, a primitive Antitrinitarian would very naturally say : that *Trinitarianism, untainted by Gnosticism, but involving the divinity and consequent adoration of Christ, was certainly the doctrine, both preached by the Lord himself, and also propounded under the yet prior dispensation of Moses.*

Such being the case, still in the judgment of Dr. Priestley, the primitive Trinitarians of all the visited Churches, and the primitive Antitrinitarian Hegesippus their cherished visiter, would, very naturally be, as Hegesippus speaks, JOINTLY COMFORTED BY THE RIGHT FAITH OF EACH OTHER.

The whole of this plainly follows from Dr. Priestley's *second* statement ; in which, according to the positive general testimony of Irenæus, the Trinitarianism of the visited Churches is, by the very turn of the solution, tacitly supposed and admitted.

Hegesippus, indeed, by describing the trinitarian faith of the visited Churches as THE TRUE FAITH PREACHED BOTH BY THE LAW AND BY THE PROPHETS AND BY THE LORD HIMSELF, *must* obviously have stigmatised *his own* antitrinitarian faith as being *not* the faith preached by Christ and by the ancient Scriptures. For it is quite clear : that BOTH the two systems *could not* have

been EQUALLY preached, as THE TRUE FAITH, by Christ and by the Prophets.

Nevertheless, this trifling oversight is of little importance. For, as Dr. Priestley tells us, if Gnosticism, in all its eleven branches, were but duly eschewed, the faith of the Trinitarian and the faith of the Antitrinitarian, though they could not *both* have been preached by Christ and his Apostles, would be *equally* THE RIGHT FAITH : it being, in the estimation of these singularly liberal religionists of the second century, a matter of the least possible theological consequence, whether a system were preached by Christ or were not preached by Christ, whether they adored Christ as very God or deemed him a mere peccable man.

(2.) Now, if this be the case : that is to say, if Trinitarian and Antitrinitarian may very naturally be said *alike* to retain THE TRUE FAITH PREACHED BOTH BY THE LAW AND BY THE PROPHETS AND BY THE LORD HIMSELF, provided only they are *alike* free from Gnosticism : it is not easy to discover, what particular utility Dr. Priestley could propose to himself, in writing two bulky Histories for the express purpose of shewing ; that *Trinitarianism, which the alleged primitive Antitrinitarian Hegesippus allowed to be* THE TRUE FAITH HANDED DOWN TO ALL THE CHURCHES FROM CHRIST AND HIS APOSTLES, *is, nevertheless, a rank and abominable corruption, nay, with bad eminence, the very palmary corruption, of genuine aboriginal Christianity.*

Even by the historian's *own* account of the matter, his early Unitarian Hegesippus entertained of it no such formidable opinion. Like the *Apostle John and therefore like all the other Jewish Christians in general*, as Dr. Priestley speaks, the *only* heresy, which disturbed *him*, was, not Trinitarianism and the consequent worship of Christ as very God incarnate, but the monster Gnosticism rampant with its eleven distinct heads. *He*, good easy man, *though an Unitarian himself*, as Dr. Priestley assures us, spent many days in familiar converse with the Christ-adoring Corinthians : and he declares ; that they, the uncorrupted Unitarian to wit and the corrupted Trinitarian

Idolaters (for Idolaters they *must* have been, if Christ were a mere man like one of themselves), *were jointly comforted by THE RIGHT FAITH OF EACH OTHER.*

This result from the alleged Antitrinitarianism of Hegesippus is precisely the same, as if Dr. Priestley and Dr. Horsley, at the end of a long and familiar conference extending through a visit of many days, should have found themselves greatly refreshed in spirit by the happy discovery : that they *alike* retained THE TRUE FAITH PREACHED BY CHRIST AND HIS APOSTLES, *because* neither of them was in the least degree tainted by Gnosticism under any one of its eleven modifications.

SECTION II.

RESPECTING THE FAITH OF THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CHURCH OF JERUSALEM.

Dr. Priestley asserts : that *All the Hebrew Christians, from the very beginning, were Humanitarian Antitrinitarians.* And, on this general assertion, as we have seen, he grounds the particular assertion : that *Hegesippus, when he visited the Churches of Greece and Italy, and when both he himself and the visited Churches were jointly comforted by the right faith of each other, must have been an Humanitarian Antitrinitarian, inasmuch as he was a Hebrew Christian.*

Now, both from the clear testimony of Eusebius, and from the very necessity of the language of Hegesippus when connected with the decisive evidence of Irenæus in regard to the nature of the faith professed by the entire Catholic Church in every quarter of the globe, it is certain ; that *Hegesippus must be deemed an exception from Dr. Priestley's general rule* : for that individual, though a Hebrew Christian, was assuredly, like

Irenæus and Melito, a Trinitarian who held the doctrine of our Lord's essential divinity.

Such being the case, notwithstanding the adage *Exceptio probat regulam*, it may not be useless to inquire: whether Dr. Priestley's general assertion, that *All the Hebrew Christians, from the very beginning, were Humanitarian Antitrinitarians*, does itself rest upon any solid foundation.

In truth, the inquiry is of some considerable importance. For, if such were the faith of all the Hebrew Christians from the very beginning: then it must have been the faith of the primitive Hebrew Church of Jerusalem. And, if such were the faith of the primitive Hebrew Church of Jerusalem, which was the *oldest* of all the Churches, which was planted by the Apostles themselves, and which had the Apostle James the brother of the Lord for its first diocesan Bishop: then the Antitrinitarian System must, in the Christian Church Catholic which once coincided in its limits with the single Hebrew Church of Jerusalem, have chronologically *preceded* the Trinitarian System. And, if, in the Christian Church Catholic, the Antitrinitarian System chronologically *preceded* the Trinitarian System: then, according to the just canon of Tertullian, that, *Whatever in revealed religion is first, must be true: and, whatever is subsequently added by man, must be false*, Antitrinitarianism, not Trinitarianism, must have been the System which was originally preached by Christ and his Apostles.

To bring out, in short, the conclusion, that, *In the Catholic Church herself, Humanitarian Unipersonalism is more ancient than Divinitarian Trinitarianism*, was the object, first of Zuicker in his *Irenicum Irenicorum*, and afterward of his somewhat more modern follower Dr. Priestley.

Now, whatever may be the antiquity of the Jewish Ebionites who were censured from the very first as holding an erroneous system of faith, we have, I believe, proof positive: that, *In point of doctrine, the parent Church of Jerusalem, that mother of all Churches, as she is justly styled in the Synodical Epistle of the Council of Constantinople* (Synod. Epist. Concil. Constan.

apud Theodorit. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 9. p. 211.), *was not humanitarian and unipersonalistic.*

I. My first testimony shall be that of the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius.

From the documents of ancient writers which were extant at the beginning of the fourth century, this diligent compiler, as he himself informs us, had learned : that, *In regular succession, fifteen Bishops, from the Apostle James down to the time of its dissolution by Adrian, had presided over the primitive Church of Jerusalem ; that All these Prelates were of hebrew extraction ; and that They all, from the very beginning, both received and taught the knowledge of Christ GENUINELY.*

Οὐδς πάντας Ἑβραίους φασὶν ὄντας ἀνέκαθεν τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ΓΝΗΣΙΩΣ καταδέξασθαι. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 5.

Some have conjectured, that Eusebius leaned toward Arianism. If this were really the case, his personal attestation to the GENUINENESS of the primitive Solymæan Faith, though it would be fully conclusive against the speculation of Zuicker and Priestley, would doubtless, so far as the cause of sound Trinitarianism is concerned, be of small value. The error, however, of any such conjecture is sufficiently demonstrated, not only by his assent to the Nicene Creed and by his baptismal reception of a yet more ancient Symbol which he himself has preserved (See above, book i. chap. 2. § II. 1.): but likewise by his own incidental profession ; that *The Son, instead of being produced into existence from non-existence, had eternally both existed and præexisted and coëxisted with the Father, the begotten Son from the unbegotten Father, the Only-begotten, the Word, and God from God.*

Υἱὸν γεννητὸν, οὐ χρόνους μὲν τισιν οὐκ ὄντα, ὕστερον δέ ποτε γεγονότα· ἀλλὰ πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων ὄντα, καὶ προόντα, καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ ὡς Υἱὸν διαπαντὸς συνόντα, καὶ οὐκ ἀγέννητον ὄντα, γεννώμενον δ' ἐξ ἀγεννήτου Πατρὸς, μονογενῆ ὄντα, Λόγον, καὶ Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ. Euseb. Demons. Evan. lib. iv. c. 3. p. 96. Rob. Stephan. Lutet. 1544.

Thus, we see, the aboriginal GENUINENESS of the primitive Solymèan Faith consisted in a full belief of the eternal existence and the essential divinity of the Son.

I may add: that Eusebius, who thus clearly states the GENUINENESS of the Christian Faith, instead of intimating that the doctrine of the Ebionites was the doctrine of the old Hebrew Church of Jerusalem, describes these early Jewish Humanitarians, as entertaining poor and mean opinions respecting the nature of Christ; opinions, which we know to have been condemned by the Catholic Church from the very beginning; opinions, which, in *his* judgment, constituted their holders the vassals of Satan.

"Αλλους δὲ ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαθέσεως ἀδυνατῶν ἐκσεῖσαι, θατεραλήπτους εὐρῶν, ἐσφετερίζετο. Ἐβιωναίους τούτους οἰκείως ἐπεφήμιζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας. Λιτὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο, κατὰ προκοπὴν ἡθους αὐτὸ μόνον ἄνθρωπον δεδικαιωμένον, ἐξ ἀνδρός τε κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεγεννημένον. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 27.

II. My second testimony shall be that of the grave historian Sulpicius Severus.

This writer informs us: that the Christians of the Church of Jerusalem, being for the most part of hebrew extraction and thence retaining the ancient rite of circumcision, were, by the Emperor Adrian, not unnaturally mistaken for Jews. Hence, with their unconverted countrymen, they were equally driven out of the city, and were prevented by a military guard from returning thither. In the course of God's providence, however, that matter turned out to be a benefit. For, at that time, the members of the Church of Jerusalem, almost all however with the observance of the Ceremonial Law, BELIEVED CHRIST TO BE GOD: but the breaking up of that Church of the Hebrews led to the final abrogation of the yoke of legal servitude.

Quia Christiani ex Judæis potissimum putabantur, quia tum Hierosolymæ non nisi ex circumcisione habebat ecclesia sacerdotem, militum cohortem custodias in perpetuum agitare jussit

(Adrianus), quæ Judæos omnes Hierosolymæ aditu arceret. Quod quidem christianæ fidei proficiebat : quia tum pæne omnes, CHRISTUM DEUM, sub Legis observatione, CREDEBANT. Nimirum id Domino ordinante dispositum, ut Legis servitus a libertate Fidei atque Ecclesiæ tolleretur. Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacr. lib. ii. p. 142. Lugd. Batav. 1635.

The historian's expression, *almost all*, as I have carefully exhibited it in my translation of his words, refers, not to THE BELIEF THAT CHRIST IS GOD, but to *The observance of the Ceremonial Law*.

This is evident, both from the very reason of the matter, and likewise from what Sulpicius himself had previously said.

1. In regard to the reason of the matter, persons who observed the Ceremonial Law, provided they did not impose it as essential to salvation, might very well be conmembers of the same Church with those who used their evangelical liberty in *not* observing it. But persons, who deemed Christ a mere man, and who consequently esteemed the religious worship of him an act of idolatry, could, by no possibility, have been conmembers of the same Church with those, who believed him to be true God, and who thence offered to him the highest adoration.

2. In regard to the previous statement of Sulpicius, he had just before told us : that the Christians of the primitive Church of Jerusalem were, *for the most part* (potissimum), of hebrew extraction ; some few only among them being of gentile origin. The result of this circumstance was : that *almost all* (pæne omnes) acknowledged the deity of Christ *together with the observance of the Law* ; while a small minority, composed partly of gentile members and partly of hebrew members who used their evangelical liberty, acknowledged the deity of Christ *without the observance of the Law*. For the observance of the Law, though kept up from ancient custom by the majority of the hebrew believers, was not imposed upon their conmembers, whether gentile or hebrew, as, in any wise, either necessary to salvation, or even disciplinally essential to ecclesiastical membership.

III. My third testimony shall be that, which is afforded by the conduct of the great majority of the Hebrew Christians subsequent to the dissolution of the primitive Church of Jerusalem.

1. Finding themselves, along with the unbelieving Jews, banished from Jerusalem, on account of their observance of the Ceremonial Law which caused them to be mistaken for unconverted professors of the religion of Mosès ; and yet they themselves, all the while, observing that Law, not for conscience sake, but purely from hereditary habit : the chief part of them abandoned what was a mere gratuitous custom ; and thus, being no longer as Jews prevented from inhabiting Jerusalem when rebuilt by Adrian under the name of *Elia*, they shortly returned thither, and thenceforth became members of the new Church of Elia, which, from the time of its commencement, subsisted under a succession of Gentile Bishops.

Now, that the new Gentile Church of Elia was composed of members who held the divinity of Christ, is certain and indisputable. For Irenèus, who was intimately acquainted with the Churches both of the East and of the West, declares : that, in their public profession of the faith, they all maintained the duty of *bowing the knee to Jesus Christ our Lord and God and Saviour and King*. And, unless I greatly mistake, he even specially includes, in his enumeration, the new Church of Elia or Jerusalem, under the phrase of *The Church founded in the middle of the world* : Judèa being deemed the navel or central region of the whole earth. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. i. c. 2, 3. p. 34—36.

But the hebrew members of the old Church of Jerusalem, who gave up the observance of the Ceremonial Law, could never have spontaneously joined themselves to the Christ-adoring new Church of Jerusalem or Elia, had they been Humanitarians who abhorred the bowing of the knee to Christ as to true God.

They *did*, however, thus join themselves.

Therefore, clearly, they *must* have symbolised in doctrine and in practice with the new Gentile Church of Elia, to which they thus joined themselves as members.

2. The proof of this fact rests upon the collective incidental testimony of Epiphanius and Orosius and Sulpicius Severus, compared with and checked by the dates which are afforded from chronology.

(1.) At the close of the Jewish war in the year 136, the Emperor Adrian and the Senate passed a decree, which, on pain of death, banished all Jews from Jerusalem: and, as Jews were readily known by their observance of the marked peculiarities of the Ceremonial Law, the Hebrew Christians of the primitive Church of Jerusalem, being, on account of their observance of that Law, mistaken for Jews properly so called, were thence, as Sulpicius states, banished along with their unbelieving brethren.

(2.) In the year 137, Adrian visited the now desolate city of Jerusalem: and gave orders, that it should be rebuilt under the new name of *Elia*; appointing, on that occasion, Aquila to be his master of the works.

(3.) When Aquila, in consequence of his commission, repaired to Jerusalem, he found there a body of Christians who must have been Christians of the Hebrews: because they are described by Epiphanius, as having fled from Jerusalem to Pella, and as having afterward returned from Pella to Jerusalem; a description, which applies to none, save the members of the old Hebrew Church of Jerusalem. Epiph. de Ponder. et Mens. Oper. p. 302.

(4.) Now, since, as Sulpicius assures us, the Hebrew Christians, who observed the Ceremonial Law, were, in the year 136, banished from Jerusalem, no less than the unbelieving Jews who also observed the Ceremonial Law; and yet, since, as Epiphanius assures us, Aquila found a body of Hebrew Christians at Jerusalem, when he repaired thither in the year 137 or 138: it is clear, when we recollect the purport of Adrian's decree, and when we combine it with the attestation of Orosius that Christians as contradistinguished from Jews were permitted to settle in the city (Oros. Hist. lib. vii. c. 13.); it is clear, I say, that the Hebrew Christians, with whom Aquila conversed

at Jerusalem, could not possibly have been living there without the least molestation, unless they had duly qualified themselves, by renouncing the observance of the Ceremonial Law, and by thus ceasing to appear as Jews, and by henceforth joining themselves to the new Gentile Church of Jerusalem or Elia.

(5.) As the renunciation of the Ceremonial Law on the part of the majority of the Hebrew Christians of the old Church of Jerusalem, and their subsequent union with the new Gentile Church of Elia, thus clearly follow from the incidental statement of Epiphanius: so that statement itself is incidentally confirmed by the concluding remark of Sulpicius Severus.

After telling us, that Adrian's decree operated to the banishment of the Hebrew Christians who then observed the Ceremonial Law, he adds: that the good providence of God so ordered it, as, by this circumstance, to take away the servitude of the Law from the liberty of the Faith and of the Church.

Now the servitude of the Law could *not* have been taken away from out of the Church, if the great bulk of the Hebrew Christians had reorganised themselves, as they before did at Pella, in a regularly constituted Church with an unbroken apostolical succession, on the avowed principle of still observing the Ceremonial Law. Therefore they did *not* thus reorganise themselves. But, if they did *not* thus reorganise themselves: then they must have renounced the observance of the Ceremonial Law, and must henceforth have been lost and swallowed up in some Church of the Gentiles.

Accordingly, as we gather from Epiphanius, such was actually the case. For they returned to Jerusalem, which they could not have done without renouncing the observance of the Ceremonial Law, though (as Orosius tells us) they were free to do it under the character of *Christians* contradistinctively from the character of *Jews*: and *there*, being now no longer marked and known by the speciality of that observance, they were soon mingled and lost in the new Gentile Church of Elia.

IV. My fourth testimony shall be that afforded by the particular case of Hegesippus.

1. This individual, we have reason to believe, was a Hebrew Christian, who had been a member of the old Church of Jerusalem, and who had subsequently joined himself to the new Church of Elia.

For, according to Eusebius, his writings evinced him to be a Christian of the Hebrews: and that circumstance, combined partly with chronology and partly with his apparent personal habits, sufficiently determines his ecclesiastical membership.

(1.) In respect to chronology, the old Church of Jerusalem was broken up in the year 136: and Hegesippus performed his journey and sojourned at Rome during the episcopate of Anicetus, which commenced in the year 153 and which terminated in the year 162.

Hence, as his journey and his residence at Rome occurred only about some seventeen or eighteen years after the breaking up of the old Hebrew Church of Jerusalem, and as he himself was a Christian of the Hebrews: there can be little doubt, I think, that he had been a member of that Church previous to its dissolution.

(2.) So again, in respect to his apparent personal habits, though a Christian of the Hebrews, he seems, at the time of his journey and of his residence at Rome, *not* to have been an observer of the Ceremonial Law.

This particular was very reasonably gathered by Bishop Bull from the perfect facility of his intimate association with the Gentile Churches of Greece and Italy. Bull. Primit. et Apost. Trad. c. iii. § 2.

Now, as his hebrew extraction, united with chronology, marks him out to have been *once* a member of the old Hebrew Church of Jerusalem: so his non-observance of the Ceremonial Law about seventeen years after the breaking up of that Church, united with his evidently being a resident Asiatic (for his journey was westward, to Italy through Greece, and therefore from Asia his home), no less marks him out to have *then* been a member of the new Gentile Church of Elia which had received into her bosom all those Hebrew Christians of the old

dissolved Church that had renounced the observance of the Ceremonial Law.

2. Such being the successive ecclesiastical membership of the Hebrew Christian Hegesippus, we may, from his doctrine, clearly learn the doctrine of the old Hebrew Church of Jerusalem, as received both by its members anterior to its dissolution and by its late members after their junction with the new Gentile Church of Elia.

According to the express testimony of Eusebius who had seen his writings, the doctrinal system of Hegesippus was identical with the doctrinal system of Irenæus and Melito : who, from yet extant portions of their Works, are well known to have been trinitarian maintainers of Christ's godhead. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 7, 8, 21, 22.

Therefore, from the doctrinal system of the Hebrew Christian Hegesippus, we may, in perfect agreement with the evidence of Eusebius and Sulpicius, and in full accordance with the general adhesion of the great majority of the Hebrew Christians to the new Gentile Church of Elia, distinctly learn : that *the doctrinal system of the primitive Hebrew Church of Jerusalem must have been trinitarian and divinitarian.*

V. My fifth and last testimony shall be that afforded by the very ancient author of the Epistle which bears the name of Barnabas.

This deeply interesting monument of former times specially refers, unless I greatly mistake, to the very age and matter which are now immediately before us.

1. From the accidental circumstance of its author being denominated *Barnabas*, some absurd scribe has chosen to subjoin to it an intimation, that it is *the Epistle of Barnabas the Apostle who was the companion of Paul the Apostle.* But, as there is nothing in it which indicates it to be the composition of the Apostle Barnabas : so, both *its generally well ascertained age, and various particular incidental remarks which it contains, and the whole drift and purpose of the argument which it propounds,* all tend to shew ; that it was written, by a Hebrew Christian of

the jewish name of *Barnabas*, at the precise time when his brethren had been driven out of Jerusalem in consequence of their observance of the Ceremonial Law, and with the precise object of inducing them to discontinue its observance in order that they might thus return to the seat of their forefathers and there join themselves to the newly collecting Gentile Church of Elia.

(1.) With respect to *its general age*, it cannot have been written later than during the first half of the second century.

This is evident from the circumstance of its being referred to, as a then well known ancient document, both by Tertullian and by Clement of Alexandria : each of whom flourished about the year 190 or 200. Tertull. de Pudic. Oper. p. 766. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. ii, v. Oper. p. 373, 375, 389, 396, 410, 571, 577.

So far, therefore, as its *general age* is concerned, there is nothing to prevent our ascription of it to the *particular year* 137, when the Hebrew Christians had been banished as Jews from Jerusalem on account of their observance of the Ceremonial Law.

(2.) *Various incidental remarks*, which it contains, directly intimate : that it must have been written, both at that precise time, and also by one of the Hebrew Christians who had gone into banishment with his brethren.

Thus, *in the first place*, the author of the Epistle, modestly representing himself, *not as a teacher, but only as one of the persons whom he was addressing*, professes his wish to *lay a few matters before them, by which in many respects they may become more joyful than they then were*. Barnab. Epist. § 1.

Now, if we ask who the persons were to whom he addressed his Epistle, Tertullian, from its superscription in his days, will distinctly teach us, that *it was addressed to the Hebrews*.

Extat enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos. Tertull. de Pudic. Oper. p. 766.

And, with this account of the matter, the drift of the Epistle exactly, or rather inevitably, agrees. For its whole purpose is,

to prove the abrogation of the Ceremonial Law, and thence to shew the inutility of any longer observing it.

This argument is introduced by an intimation : that the writer wished to *lay a few matters before the Hebrew Christians whom he was addressing, by which in many respects they might become more joyful than they then were.*

The Hebrew Christians, therefore, were in a state of affliction : and this affliction might be removed by their ceasing to observe the Ceremonial Law ; which, accordingly, the writer, *one of themselves*, demonstrates to be of no obligation and thence *in foro conscientiæ* renounceable at pleasure.

I know not any period, to which language of such a description will apply, save that brief period, during which the Hebrew Christians remained in banishment on account of their observance of the Ceremonial Law : a period, which commenced in the year 136 with the enactment of Adrian's decree, and which seems to have terminated in the year 137 or the year 138, when, in consequence of their renunciation of the Ceremonial Law, they were enabled to return to Jerusalem.

So again, *in the second place*, the Author advises the Hebrew Christians whom he was addressing, *not to depend each one upon his own insulated private judgment, but to meet together for a general consultation.* And the object of this proposed general consultation is : whether they should consider the Levitical Covenant as *their* Covenant also ; or whether they should not rather seek to become spiritual and to be made a perfect temple to God, by acknowledging that the Ceremonial Law had been abrogated, and by collectively acting forthwith upon that acknowledgment.

Sacrifices and oblations and the whole Ceremonial Law, says he, God hath abolished : that the new Law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of any such necessity, might have an offering becoming men.—The people, whom he hath purchased to his beloved Son, were to believe in simplicity : and therefore he hath shewn these things to all of us, THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE RUNNING AS PROSELYTES TO THE JEWISH LAW.

Wherefore it is necessary: that, searching diligently into these matters, we should write to you what may serve to keep you whole.—And I beseech you, AS ONE OF YOUR OWN BRETHREN, loving you all beyond my own life, that you look well to yourselves. And be not like to those, who add sin to sin, and who say: that THEIR COVENANT IS OURS ALSO.—Do not deceive yourselves separately with your own private thoughts, as if you were already justified: but, coming all together into one place, inquire what is agreeable and profitable to the beloved of God. For the Scripture saith: Woe unto them, that are wise in their own eyes and prudent in their own sight. LET US BECOME SPIRITUAL, A PERFECT TEMPLE TO GOD. Barnab. Epist. § 2, 3, 4.

There is no time, I apprehend, to which such exhortations can apply, save that during which the Hebrew Christians were in their short banishment from Jerusalem.

Furthermore, *in the third place*, the author is professedly writing at a season, when the city and temple of Jerusalem had been destroyed and desolated by the enemies of the Jews, and yet when the servants of those enemies were engaged in rebuilding them. Barnab. Epist. § 16.

This very remarkable particular, unless I wholly misapprehend it, absolutely pins down the writing of the Epistle to the precise period for which I contend. Because, at no other period, did such circumstances occur: and, at that precise period, they actually *were* occurring.

The roman enemies of Judah had desolated the city and temple of Jerusalem. And yet the servants of those enemies, Aquila with his subordinate officers and workmen, were *then* engaged in rebuilding or in repairing them both: the city, under the new name of *Elia*; the temple, upon the scite of the ancient temple, but dedicated, as it had been before the jewish rebellion, to the pagan Jupiter Capitolinus.

Vainly, I believe, shall we search history for any other period thus characteristically distinguished.

(3.) The same result is brought out by *the whole drift and purpose of the argument* which is propounded in the Epistle.

This argument, as I have already intimated, goes to shew : that *the Ceremonial Law had been abrogated by the Gospel*, and that *it is no longer of any religious obligation*. Whence the conclusion is : that *the Hebrew Christians, whom the author Barnabas, himself a Hebrew Christian, was addressing, should renounce the observance of the Ceremonial Law*.

Now, with no period, save that brief period of banishment which commenced in the year 136, will such an argument, addressed to Hebrew Christians who were then actually observing the Ceremonial Law, be found to correspond.

The argument, as addressed to Hebrew Christians, was plainly impertinent, unless those Hebrew Christians were *then* observing the Ceremonial Law : and there could be no particular object to enforce it, save at a time when the observance of that Law had exposed the Hebrew Christians in question to great and serious inconvenience ; which, accordingly, as we have seen, is distinctly stated to have been the case.

2. Let us, then, put all these several matters together, *chronological* and *circumstantial* and *argumentative* : and the general result will be this.

In or about the year 137, a Hebrew Christian, named *Barnabas*, wrote his still extant Epistle, for the purpose of inducing his brethren, the Hebrew Christians of the dissolved Church of Jerusalem, to discontinue the observance of the Ceremonial Law : *in order that*, as he expresses himself, *they might in many respects become more joyful than they then were* ; or, in other words, in order that they might be enabled to return, from a degrading banishment, to the rising city of Elia, and that there they might become associated members of the new Solymèan Church of the Gentiles.

The arguments of this worthy and intelligent Hebrew were mainly successful. For the consequence was : that the great majority of the banished Hebrew Christians discontinued the observance of the Ceremonial Law ; returned, no longer under the suspected appearance of rebellious Jews, to their native Jerusalem ; and there, every distinctive national peculiarity

having now ceased, were soon mingled and lost among the increasing gentile members of the new Church of Elia.

3. But it is now time that we should mark the bearing, which the whole of this discussion has upon the doctrinal system of the ancient Hebrew Church of Jerusalem: for, on that account only, have I engaged in the discussion.

(1.) Barnabas, the author of the Epistle, twice declares himself to be *one of those persons* or *one of those brethren* whom he was addressing. Barnab. Epist. § 1, 4.

But, as Tertullian teaches us from the superscription of the copies existing in his days, and as indeed is sufficiently manifest from the internal evidence afforded by the entire Epistle itself, the persons or brethren, addressed by Barnabas, were *Christians of the Hebrews*.

Therefore, plainly, Barnabas *himself* must also have been a *Hebrew Christian*.

(2.) Now this declared *Hebrew Christian* Barnabas repeatedly speaks, to his brethren *the Hebrew Christians of the ancient Church of Jerusalem*, respecting *the preëxistence and divinity of our Lord*, as doctrines familiarly received among them, as doctrines upon which (he well knew) they were all agreed, as doctrines which no one of them ever thought of controverting.

The Lord submitted to suffer for our souls, though he is that Lord of the whole universe, to whom God the Father said, on the day before the creation of the world was completed: Let us make man, after our own image and likeness.

Dominus sustinuit pati pro anima nostra, cum sit orbis terrarum Dominus, cui dixit, die ante constitutionem sæculi: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram. Barnab. Epist. § 5.

He saith to the Son: Let us make man, according to our image and similitude.

Λέγει τῷ Υἱῷ· Ποίησωμεν, κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμῶν, τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Barnab. Epist. § 6.

Unless the Son had come in the flesh, how could we frail mortals have looked upon him and have been preserved? For men,

looking even upon the sun which is not destined for perpetuity and which is the mere work of his hands, are unable to face the brightness of its beams.

Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί, πῶς ἂν ἐσώθηνεν ἄνθρωποι, βλέποντες αὐτόν; "Οτι τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ εἶναι ἥλιον, ἔργον χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα, βλέποντες, οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν εἰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι. Barnab. Epist. § 5.

Thus thou hast respecting the majesty of Christ, how all things were made for him and through him; to whom be honour, and power, and glory, both now and evermore.

Habes interim de majestate Christi, quo modo omnia in illum et per illum facta sunt: cui sit honor, virtus, gloria, nunc et in sæcula sæculorum. Barnab. Epist. § 17.

(3.) Here, as stated by one of its own members in a public epistle to his collective brethren, we have the doctrine of that primitive Hebrew Church of Jerusalem, which of all Churches was indisputably the most ancient: and this doctrine we distinctly find to be the doctrine of *Christ's præexistence and divinity*.

Hence the doctrine of *Christ's divinity* must have been the doctrine of Christ's Church from the very beginning: and hence, in respect to it, we may now once more take up the canon of Tertullian; WHATEVER IS FIRST, IS TRUE: WHATEVER IS LATER, IS SPURIOUS.

VI. I need scarcely to remark: that, with Dr. Mosheim and Bishop Horsley, I agree in deducing, from the statement of Epiphanius combined with the dates afforded by chronology, the important fact; that *The great majority of the Hebrew Christians of the ancient dissolved Church of Jerusalem, renouncing the observance of the Ceremonial Law and thence qualifying themselves to return from banishment, were henceforth absorbed in the new Gentile Church of Elia.* But I may here be allowed to add, what escaped the notice of both those theologians: that the fact in question is curiously corroborated by the incidental testimony of the old Epistle of Barnabas; while the fact itself, united with the history of the times, illustrates

the true age and drift and object of the Epistle. The circumstance is interesting, as it tends to shew the sound judgment of an eminent divine, whose acquaintance it once was my privilege to enjoy, and whose memory I shall ever cherish with affection and reverence.

Upon these foundations, said Bishop Horsley, which a stronger arm than Dr. Priestley's shall not be able to tear up, stands the Church of orthodox Jewish Christians at Jerusalem : to which the asserters of the Catholic Faith will not scruple to appeal, in proof of the antiquity of their doctrine. Remarks on Priestley's Second Letters, part ii. chap. 2. p. 376.

The foundations, instead of being torn up, have now been strengthened : and thus, while, I trust, the cause of truth has been promoted, a just tribute has been paid to the illustrious dead.

His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere.

SECTION III.

RESPECTING THE FAITH OF THE NAZARENES.

THOUGH Barnabas succeeded in persuading the great majority of the Hebrew Christians, to discontinue the observance of the Ceremonial Law, and thenceforward to unite with the new Gentile Church of Elia : he was unable to influence the entire body.

Those, who observed the Ceremonial Law from pure habit and from old ancestral prejudices, readily adopted his advice : and these were, happily, the great majority.

But a small minority of some certain individuals, in direct opposition to the plain apostolical decision, were not content with observing the Ceremonial Law on the ground of mere

habit, but mischievously enforced its observance as binding upon the conscience and as even necessary to salvation. These, apparently, Barnabas more than once notices in his Epistle (Barnab. Epist. § 3, 4.): and, with these, as might naturally be anticipated, he did not succeed. The necessary consequence was: that they separated from their wiser brethren, henceforth constituting a sect known by the appellation of *Nazarenes*.

Through the medium of these wrong-headed schismatics it was, that Zuicker, and after him Dr. Priestley, attempted to establish the doctrinal Humanitarianism and Unipersonalism of the primitive Hebrew Church of Jerusalem.

According to those two writers, the Hebrew Christians, from the very first, were distinguished by the name of *Nazarenes*: and these Nazarenes were identical with the Ebionites. But the Ebionites were Humanitarians and Unipersonalists. Therefore the Nazarenes, and consequently the primitive Hebrew Christians who were identical with the Nazarenes, must have been Humanitarians and Unipersonalists also.

The grievous lameness of such a *conclusion* we have seen, from the direct evidence which has been adduced to the doctrinal system of the ancient Church of Jerusalem: yet it may not be useless to shew, that the *premises* themselves are equally unsound.

In *one* sense, no doubt, the Nazarenes may be said to be the same as the Hebrew Christians of the ancient Church of Jerusalem: for the founders of the sect, who separated from their brethren on the question of the obligatory observance of the Ceremonial Law, had originally been members of that primitive Hebrew Society. But, in *no other* sense, can the two be identified: nor were the Nazarenes ever known as a sect, until after the breaking up of the primitive Church of Jerusalem; when, in consequence of their inability to return to the seat of their forefathers, they settled themselves in the northern parts of Galilee.

Such being the case, even if the later Nazarenes in the times of Jerome and Augustine and Epiphanius had finally adopted

the speculations of the Ebionites : this would afford no very logical proof of the Humanitarianism and Unipersonalism of the primitive Church of Jerusalem anterior to its dissolution in the year 136.

But, in truth, those descendants from that ancient Church were, neither Humanitarians themselves, nor identical with the confessedly humanitarian Ebionites.

The authorities, which prove that the Nazarenes were not Unipersonalists who denied the divinity of Christ, are so constructed, that they equally prove the Ebionites to have been not identical with them.

I. Augustine, in his book on heresies, enumerates, in three successive sections, three distinct sects : that of the Cerinthians ; that of the Nazarenes ; and that of the Ebionites.

1. His account of these three sects, in regard to their religious opinions, is as follows.

(1.) The Cerinthians asserted : that *Jesus was a mere man*. And, along with this opinion, they maintained the necessity of observing the Ceremonial Law.

Cerinthiani a Cerintho, iidemque Merinthiani a Merintho, mundum ab angelis factum esse dicentes : et carne circumcidi oportere, atque alia hujusmodi Legis præcepta servari. Jesum hominem tantummodo fuisse, nec surrexisse, sed surrecturum, asseverantes. August. de hæres. § 8.

(2.) The Nazarenes confessed : that *Christ is the Son of God*. But, at the same time, they observed the ordinances of the Law : which, by apostolical tradition, Christians had learned, not to observe carnally, but to understand spiritually.

Nazaræi, cum Dei Filium confiteantur esse Christum, omnia tamen veteris Legis observant : quæ Christiani, per apostolicam traditionem, non observare carnaliter, sed spiritualiter intelligere, didicerunt. August. de hæres. § 9.

(3.) The Ebionites asserted : that *the Christ ALSO, as well as Jesus into whom the Cerinthians fabled the separate spirit Christ to have entered, was a mere man, being in truth identical with the mere man Jesus*. And, conjointly with this tenet, they likewise

observed the ceremonial commandments of the Law, from the burden of which Christians are liberated by the New Testament.

Hebionæi Christum ETIAM tantummodo hominem dicunt. Mandata carnalia Legis observant, circumcisionem scilicet carnis, et cætera, a quorum oneribus per Novum Testamentum liberati sumus. August. de hæres. § 10.

2. Here we have three distinct sects, placed in mutual juxtaposition, because they *agreed* in maintaining that the ancient Ceremonial Law was still obligatory. But, in their doctrinal tenets respecting our Lord, they severally *differed* from each other.

(1.) The Cerinthians asserted : that Jesus was a mere man, born of Joseph and Mary.

But they added : that, at the time of his baptism, a supercelestial spirit, denominated *Christ*, entered into him ; which spirit quitted him in the day of his crucifixion. Iren. adv. hæres. lib. i. c. 25. Epiph. adv. hæres. lib. i. tom. 2. hæres. 28.

(2.) With them the Ebionites agreed, in maintaining the mere humanity of Jesus : though some of these Ebionites held, and some denied, his birth from a virgin. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. p. 272. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 27.

But they differed from them, in asserting that the Christ ALSO was a mere man : for, discarding the notion that the Christ was a supercelestial spirit *distinct* from the man Jesus, they contended, like our modern Unipersonalists ; that the *single* individual Jesus-Christ was, in point of nature, a mere man, united neither to a supercelestial spirit nor yet to the Supreme Divinity.

(3.) From *both* these sectaries, the Nazarenes differed most essentially. For, as Augustine observes, *They confessed Christ to be THE SON OF GOD.*

Each of his expressions is full of meaning.

The Nazarenes CONFESSED : the Cerinthians and the Ebionites *asserted*.

The Nazarenes confessed Christ to be THE SON OF GOD : the

Cerinthians asserted Jesus, and the Ebionites asserted Jesus-Christ, to be *a mere man*.

Here, then, lay the difference.

In the language of Augustine and of the early Catholic Church from the very first, *To CONFESS Christ as THE SON OF GOD is To CONFESS, as a necessary article of faith, THE ESSENTIAL DIVINITY of Christ.*

Thus, when the Simonian Gnostics asserted the mere humanity of Jesus; Origen expresses this idea by saying: that *They did not CONFESS Jesus to be THE SON OF GOD.* Οὐδαμῶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὁμολογοῦσι Υἱὸν Θεοῦ Σιμωνιανοί. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. p. 272. And thus, when Julian alleged that no Evangelist before St. John taught THE DIVINITY of Christ; Cyril promptly met him, on the ancient hermeneutic principle of the Church, by replying: that *the title of THE SON OF GOD was applied to Christ by all the earlier Evangelists, and that the application of this title was equivalent to an ascription of ESSENTIAL DIVINITY.* Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. x. p. 328. See below, append. ii. numb. 10.

Now, on *this* point, namely, *A CONFESION of Christ as THE SON OF GOD*, the Nazarenes (for, in truth, their *sole* heresy was their insisting upon the religious obligatoriness of the Ceremonial Law) agreed with the Catholics: and hence, by Augustine, *their CONFESION of the common faith in regard to THE ESSENTIAL DIVINITY of Christ* is placed in studied contradistinction to *the Cerinthian and Ebionitic ASSERTION of dogmas wholly incompatible with it.*

II. The testimony of Jerome is exactly to the same purpose and with exactly the same arrangement.

1. In his statement, on account of their mutually concurring adherence to the *necessary* observation of the Ceremonial Law, the Cerinthians and the Ebionites and the Nazarenes appear as three several semi-jewish sects. But, distinguishing the Nazarenes from the other two, of *them* he specially says: that *They believed in Christ as THE SON OF GOD born from the Virgin Mary; in whom also, he adds, we ourselves believe.*

Usque hodie per totas Orientis synagogas inter Judæos hæresis est, quæ dicitur *Minæorum*, quos vulgo *Nazaræos* nuncupant: qui credunt in Christum Filium Dei natum de virgine Maria; et eum dicunt esse, qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est et resurrexit: in quem et nos credimus. Sed, dum volunt et Judæi esse et Christiani, nec Judæi sunt nec Christiani. Hieron. Epist. lxxxix. c. 4. Oper. tom. ii. p. 266. Colon. Agripp. 1616.

2. This language of Jerome at once corroborates and explains the account given by Augustine, if indeed that account required any corroboration and explanation.

So far as respected the doctrine of *Christ being THE SON OF GOD born from the Virgin*; or, in other words (according to the well known purport of the phraseology then and from the first employed by the Catholic Church), so far as respected the doctrine of *The Son's COETERNAL AND CONSUBSTANTIAL GODHEAD with the Father*: the Nazarenes agreed with the Catholics.

On *this* point, their *CONFESSION*, as Augustine speaks, was *orthodox*.

Their *error* lay in insisting upon the *necessity* of observing the Ceremonial Law: an error, from which the great collective body of the primitive Church of Jerusalem was exempt; an error, which in his epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul had clearly shewn to be inconsistent with the true evangelical doctrine of *Salvation through the alone merits of Christ*.

III. We may still note the same arrangement and the same discrimination in the ancient author of the Apostolical Constitutions: though, *specifically*, he mentions not the names either of the Cerinthians or of the Ebionites or of the Nazarenes.

1. The method, which he adopts in the treatment of his subject, is the following.

(1.) In his account of confirmed and inveterate heretics, he first notices those: who insisted upon the necessity of observing the Ceremonial Law, while they believed in Jesus merely as a holy man and a delegated prophet.

Τὰ κατὰ νόμον καθαρὰ ἐσθίειν καὶ περιτέμνεσθαι νομίμως,

πιστεύειν δὲ εἰς Ἰησοῦν, ὡς εἰς ὅσιον ἄνδρα καὶ προφήτην. Constit. Apost. lib. vi. c. 10.

(2.) After this, he states the sound catholic doctrine, respecting the true nature and character of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and respecting the abrogation of the Ceremonial Law.

Τὸν Χριστὸν οὐ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁμολογοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ Θεὸν Λόγον καὶ ἄνθρωπον, μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Πατρός. Οὔτε μὴν μετὰ Ἰουδαίων περιτεμνόμεθα. Constit. Apost. lib. vi. c. 11.

(3.) And he then proceeds to write against those : who CONFESSED, indeed ; but who, at the same time, wished to *judaise*.

Πρὸς τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας, ιουδαΐζειν δὲ θέλοντας. Constit. Apost. lib. vi. c. 12.

2. Now, as the Cerinthians and the Ebionites are evidently intended by *the persons, who observe the Ceremonial Law, while they venerate Jesus under the aspect of a mere holy man* : so are the Nazarenes no less clearly meant by *the persons, who wish to judaise, though they nevertheless CONFESS* ; for there are no other individuals, with whom such a description will correspond.

What, then, was the import of their CONFESION ?

Doubtless, as the whole context shews, its import was that acknowledgment of the godhead of Christ, which immediately before had been set forth as the CONFESION of the Catholics.

For the entire statement runs in manner following.

(1.) The Cerinthians and the Ebionites, *together with* the observance of the Ceremonial Law, believed in Jesus as a mere holy man.

(2.) The Catholics, *without* the observance of the Ceremonial Law, CONFESSED Jesus Christ, not as a mere man, but as GOD THE WORD AND MAN CONJOINTLY.

(3.) The Nazarenes, *together with* the observance of the Ceremonial Law, made the same CONFESION respecting Jesus Christ, as that which was made by the Catholics.

3. It will be observed : that the author of the Apostolical Constitutions employs the self-same word CONFESS, to set forth

equally the faith of the Catholics and the faith of the Nazarenes. And it will be recollected: that still the self-same word CONFESS is employed by Augustine, to contradistinguish the FAITH of the Nazarenes from the ASSERTIONS of the Cerinthians and the Ebionites.

IV. Against this mass of concurring evidence, the sole matter, which can be set up, is the assertion of Theodoret: that *The Nazarenes venerated Christ only under the aspect of a just man.* Theod. Hæret. Fab. lib. ii. c. 2.

1. Doubtless, Theodoret makes the assertion: but, even if we admit its accuracy, no benefit would accrue to the antitrinitarian cause from such an admission.

Theodoret flourished in the course of the fifth century: and, without any impeachment of our already adduced testimonies, it is easy to conceive; that the remnant of the Nazarenes, as they had always symbolised with the Ebionites *in the obligatory observance of the Ceremonial Law*, might at length, finding themselves viewed by the Catholics as heretics, adopt their opinions also *in respect to the nature of Christ.*

2. The accuracy of Theodoret, however, may well be disputed: both because his assertion is at variance with the testimonies of Augustine and Jerome and the author of the Apostolical Constitutions; and also because he seems evidently to have been misled by a too hasty interpretation of his predecessor Epiphanius who lived in the course of the fourth century.

(1.) Epiphanius had said: that *The Nazarenes held opinions similar to those of the Cerinthians.* "Ὅμοια κέκτηνται τὰ φρονήματα. Epiph. adv. hæ. lib. i. tom. 2. hæ. 29. And he had subsequently added: that, *As Ebion adopted the sentiments of the Ossæans and the Nazarenes and the Nasaræans and the Cerinthians, so he and the Nazarenes mutually communicated their improbity to each other; for though they differed in a CERTAIN POINT (κατὰ τὴν) they resembled each other in their evil-mindedness.* Epiph. adv. hæ. lib. i. tom. 2. hæ. 30.

From these expressions, Theodoret seems to have hastily

concluded : that *The Nazarenes agreed with the Ebionites in their opinion respecting the nature of Christ.*

But Epiphanius says nothing of the sort.

He merely intimates, unspecifically : that *The Nazarenes held opinions similar to those of the Cerinthians* ; and that *They mutually communicated their improbity with the Ebionites.*

What he meant by this language was : not that *The Nazarenes denied the godhead of Christ* ; but that, like the Ebionites and the Cerinthians, *They insisted upon the necessity of observing the Ceremonial Law.*

That such was his meaning, may be learned even from the very passage in which this language occurs.

While he says ; that *The Ebionites and the Nazarenes mutually communicated their improbity to each other* : he immediately subjoins ; that, *Resembling each other in evilmindedness, they nevertheless, IN A CERTAIN POINT, differed.*

Now in *what* did this difference, ON ONE CERTAIN POINT, consist ?

Clearly, in the radically dissimilar view which they took of the person and nature of Christ : for we know that, in regard to the necessity of observing the Ceremonial Law, they perfectly agreed.

From this brief hint, I suspect : that Epiphanius well knew the soundness of the Nazarenes in respect to the doctrine of Christ's godhead, though, from his extreme dislike of them, he was unwilling to speak out more explicitly. For it is difficult to comprehend what he could have meant by the allowed difference between the Nazarenes and the Ebionites IN ONE CERTAIN POINT, if it were not the precise difference specified by Jerome and Augustine and the author of the Apostolical Constitutions.

(2.) Be that, however, as it may, Epiphanius has effectually prevented any person, who would read his Work on Heresies, from rationally asserting, on *his* authority : that *The Nazarenes symbolised with the Ebionites in their denial of Christ's divinity.*

Truly or not, respecting these same Nazarenes he tells us :

that HE COULD SAY NOTHING CERTAIN; *whether, with the Cerinthians, they deemed Jesus to be a mere man; or whether, as the truth is, they asserted his birth from Mary through the Holy Spirit.*

Περὶ Χριστοῦ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ, τῇ τῶν προειρημένων περὶ Κήρινθον καὶ Μήρινθον μοχθηρίᾳ ἄχθέντες, ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον νομίζουσιν· ἥ, καθὼς ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει, διὰ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου γεγεννηθῆσθαι ἐκ Μαρίας διαβεβαιοῦνται. Epiph. adv. hæ. lib. i. tom. 2. hæ. 29.

Had Epiphanius *known* the Humanitarianism of the Nazarenes, we may be quite sure that he would have prominently *alleged* it.

I suspect him to have known *the contrary*. But, however this may be, the Humanitarianism of the Nazarenes can never be proved from an author, who declares himself *ignorant* of their sentiments respecting the nature of Christ.

SECTION IV.

RESPECTING THE DOCTRINE OF THE EBIONITES.

I HAVE stated: that *The Ebionites agreed with the Cerinthians, in maintaining the mere humanity of Jesus, though some of them held, and some of them denied, his birth from a virgin: but that They differed from them, in asserting (as Augustine speaks) that the Christ ALSO was a mere man; for, discarding the notion that the Christ was a supercelestial spirit distinct from the man Jesus, they contended, like our modern Unipersonalists, that the single individual Jesus-Christ was, in point of nature, a mere man, united neither to a supercelestial spirit nor yet to the Supreme Divinity.* See above, append. i. numb. 2. sect. 3. § 1. 2. (2.)

Such was my statement. Now, in regard to it, Epiphanius,

I am perfectly aware, describes the Ebionites, as holding, with the Cerinthians : that *The Eon CHRIST was distinct from the mere man JESUS* ; and that *The former entered into the latter at the time of his baptism*. Epiph. adv. hær. lib. i. tom. 2. hær. 30.

Hence I confess, that Epiphanius, so far at least as respects *his own* times, contradicts my statement. It may be doubted, however, whether this testimony, even if we admit its partial accuracy ; can be justly extended to *more early* times.

I. Irenæus, a much older writer than Epiphanius, tells us : that *The Ebionites did NOT hold the same opinions respecting the Lord as Cerinthus*.

Qui autem dicuntur *Ebionæi* consentiunt quidem mundum a Deo factum : ea autem, quæ sunt erga Dominum, NON SIMILITER ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur. Iren. adv. hær. lib. i. c. 26.

Now Irenæus had, immediately before, ascribed to Cerinthus the gnostic peculiarity of *The distinctness of the Eon CHRIST from the mere man JESUS* : and, in asserting the mere humanity of the Lord JESUS, we know, that the Ebionites and the Cerinthians were *agreed*. Iren. adv. hær. lib. i. c. 25.

Therefore the point of their *disagreement*, with the exception that some of the Ebionites held the miraculous birth of the still mere man JESUS from a virgin, can only have been the question of *The distinctness or the indistinctness of THE CHRIST*.

I well know : that some have proposed to alter the NON SIMILITER of Irenæus into CONSIMILITER ; which, no doubt, would exactly invert the purport of that Father's testimony. But such an alteration, I believe, rests not upon the authority of any manuscript : and is, therefore, purely conjectural and gratuitous.

II. To retain and to argue from the expression NON SIMILITER, I am the more inclined ; because Theodoret, who, as a much later writer against heresies, would naturally consult the more ancient Work of Irenæus on the same subject, states unequivocally : that such *was* the precise point, upon which the Cerinthians and the Ebionites disagreed ; the Cerinthians *asserting* the baptismal descent of the Eon CHRIST and his dis-

tinctness from the man JESUS, while the Ebionites, like the later disciples of Theodotus and Artemon and Photinus, *denied* it.

Ὁ δὲ Κήρινθος τὸν μὲν ΙΗΣΟΥΝ ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας ἔφησε γεννηθῆναι κατὰ κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμον, ἄνωθεν δὲ τὸν ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ κατεληλυθότα ἐπὶ τὸν ΙΗΣΟΥΝ. Ἐβιωναῖοι δὲ καὶ Θεοδοττιανοὶ καὶ Ἀρτεμονιανοὶ καὶ Φωτεινιανοὶ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰρήκασιν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου τὸν ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ γεγεννησθαι. Theodor. Hæret. Fab. lib. v. c. 11.

This statement would be the precise and necessary result of Theodoret having read, in the original Greek of Irenæus, οὐχ ὁμοίως : but a directly opposite statement must have been the result of his having there read ὁμοίως.

III. Theodoret exactly harmonises with Augustine : who, also, may be reasonably supposed to have not written without consulting his senior Irenæus.

He tells us : that *The Cerinthians deemed JESUS to be a mere man* ; but that *The Ebionites ascribed bare humanity to the CHRIST also*.

Cerinthiani,—JESUM hominem tantummodo fuisse.—Hebionæi CHRISTUM etiam tantummodo hominem dicunt. August. de hæ. § 8, 10.

IV. The same testimony is also borne by the inquisitive historian Eusebius.

In his account of the Ebionites, he describes some of them as maintaining the CHRIST to be a mere man born from Joseph and Mary, and others of them as admitting his birth from the virgin through the Holy Spirit but as denying his preëxistence and divinity. Yet he says not a word, as to any of them holding the cerinthian tenet of the baptismal descent of the distinct Eon CHRIST into the distinct man JESUS.

Ἐβιωναίους τούτους οἰκείως ἐπεφήμεζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας. Λιτὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο, κατὰ προκοπὴν ἥθους αὐτὸ μόνον ἄνθρωπον δεδικαιωμένον, ἐξ ἀνδρός τε κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεγεννημένον.—Ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τούτους, τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντες προσηγορίας, τὴν μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων ἔκτοπον διεδίδρασκον ἀτοπίαν, ἐκ παρθένου καὶ

τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος μὴ ἀρνούμενοι γεγονέναι τὸν Κύριον οὐ μὴν ἔθ' ὁμοίως καὶ οὗτοι, προῦπάρχειν αὐτὸν, Θεὸν Λόγον ὄντα καὶ Σοφίαν ὁμολογοῦντες, τῇ τῶν προτέρων περιετρέποντο δυσσεβεῖα. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 27.

Now, what Eusebius says of the doctrine of the Ebionites respecting CHRIST, Origen says of their doctrine respecting JESUS: and he is equally silent, as to their holding the marked peculiarity of the tenet specially held by the Cerinthians.

Οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ διττοὶ Ἐβιωναῖοι ἤτοι ἐκ παρθένου ὁμολογοῦντες, ὁμοίως ἡμῖν, τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἢ οὐχ οὕτω γεγεννησθαι, ἀλλ' ὥς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. p. 272.

Uniting, then, these two testimonies, and combining them with the preceding testimonies, we seem once more brought to the conclusion: that *The Ebionites*, (as I believe Irenæus to have stated by the expression *non similiter* or οὐχ ὁμοίως) *did NOT agree with the Cerinthians in those points of doctrine which respect the nature of our Lord.* For, while the Cerinthians held, that *The distinct Eon CHRIST descended upon the distinct mere man JESUS at the time of his baptism*: the Ebionites held, that *There was no such distinction between CHRIST and JESUS*, but that *The single individual JESUS-CHRIST was one mere man whether born from Joseph and Mary or born miraculously from the Virgin Mary alone.*

V. Nay, if I mistake not, even Epiphanius himself ought *really* to be considered, as corroborating, instead of contradicting, my view of the doctrinal system of the early Ebionites.

Though, in the middle of the fourth century, he describes those sectaries as symbolising with the Cerinthians in the pretended descent of the Eon Christ into the man Jesus: yet he likewise exhibits them, as having therein *departed* from the sentiments of their founder Ebion; whom, accordingly, he charges with no such speculation; but whom, on the contrary, he represents, as believing CHRIST to have been born, after the manner of other men, from Joseph and Mary. Epiph. adv. hæ. lib. i. tom. 2. hæ. 30.

Thus, *in effect*, Epiphanius bears the same testimony respect-

ing the *early* Ebionites, as Irenæus and Theodoret and Augustine and Eusebius. For, however, in the middle of the fourth century, *some* of their descendants (and, after all, Epiphanius vouches only for *some*, and that too in lapse of time) might have *departed* from the original doctrine of Ebion: the very name of the sect imports, that the *early* or the *first* Ebionites *agreed* with him.

VI. Be this as it may, from the speculations of the Cerinthians and the Ebionites alike, so far as respected the nature and character of our Lord, the Nazarenes differed altogether. For, though they agreed with those two judaising sects in the religious necessity of observing the Ceremonial Law, they still, with the entire Church Catholic, maintained; that JESUS-CHRIST *was* THE SON OF GOD *incarnate from the Virgin Mary*: or, in other words, they maintained; that JESUS-CHRIST *was*, TRUE GOD OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE FATHER *begotten before the worlds, and true man of the substance of his mother born in the world*.

This inevitably follows from the current phraseology of the early Church. For, by the special title of THE SON OF GOD, the ancient writers always understood GOD FROM GOD, LIGHT FROM LIGHT, TRUE GOD FROM TRUE GOD. See below, append. ii. numb. 10.

Hence, in testifying that *The Nazarenes believed our Lord to be* THE SON OF GOD *born from the womb of the Virgin*: they, in effect, according to the purport of their own phraseology, testified, that *The Nazarenes believed our Lord to be* VERY GOD *incarnate*.

SECTION V.

RESPECTING THE CHRONOLOGY OF EPIPHANIUS IN REGARD TO
AQUILA.

IN the chronology of Epiphanius respecting Aquila, there is an

apparent difficulty, which Dr. Priestley has employed for the purpose of throwing discredit upon the whole account of that officer's intercourse with a body of Hebrew Christians while he was superintending the works at Elia.

Epiphanius tells us : that Adrian, in his progress through Palestine, visited the ruined city of Jerusalem ; that, determining to rebuild it under the name of *Elia*, he appointed Aquila his master of the works ; that Aquila, while superintending the business, *there* conversed with certain Hebrew Christians who had returned thither from Pella, and *there* became a convert to Christianity ; that, afterward, he apostatised to Judaism ; and that, when he had thus apostatised, he applied himself to the study of Hebrew and translated the Old Testament.

Now we know : that Adrian commanded Jerusalem to be rebuilt in the year 137, immediately after the enactment of an edict in the year 136, which banished from its precincts all observers of the Ceremonial Law.

Yet Epiphanius also tells us ; that *Aquila became known in the twelfth year of Adrian*, or in the year 129. And, from the mode in which this information is conveyed, Dr. Priestley pronounces : that *Aquila then became known by his translation of the Hebrew Scriptures*.

Hence he concludes : that, *Since Epiphanius himself fixes the date of the translation to the twelfth year of Adrian or the year 129, Aquila could not have conversed with Hebrew Christians at Jerusalem and have there become a convert to Christianity in the year 137 or the twentieth year of Adrian*. Whence the result is : that *The whole account of his intercourse with a body of Hebrew Christians at Jerusalem, subsequent to the edict which banished from that city all observers of the Ceremonial Law, must needs be a mere fable*.

I. The premises, upon which this objection rests, are the alleged contradictory statement of Epiphanius : that *Aquila translated the Hebrew Scriptures in the twelfth year of Adrian or in the year 129*.

But it may be doubted, whether these premises are *themselves* secure.

Epiphanius says, indeed : that *Aquila became known in the twelfth year of Adrian*. But he no where says : that, *In that year, he translated the Hebrew Scriptures*.

His statement, which occurs at the end of a tolerably long chronological enumeration of dates and periods, is the following.

In the twelfth year of Adrian, Aquila became known. From Augustus, therefore, to Adrian, there are 180 years and 4 months save 9 days : so that, from the time of the seventy-two interpreters to Aquila the interpreter or to the twelfth year of Adrian, there are 430 years and 4 months. Epiph. de Pond. et Mens. Oper. p. 302.

1. From the circumstance of Epiphanius saying, that *There are 430 years and 4 months from the time of the seventy-two INTERPRETERS to Aquila the INTERPRETER or to the twelfth year of Adrian*, Dr. Priestley, I suppose, would infer : that *The period in question is said by Epiphanius to have elapsed from the time of the one INTERPRETATION to the time of the other INTERPRETATION*; and consequently, that *The INTERPRETATION of Aquila is, by Epiphanius, ascribed to the twelfth year of Adrian or the year 129*.

2. This, however, is a mere gratuitous inference.

Nothing is more common, than *anticipatively* to distinguish a man by an appellation under which he *subsequently* became celebrated : and thus, even *prima facie*, we have no right to deduce *more* from the statement of Epiphanius, than that a certain period elapsed from the interpretation of the seventy-two down to the twelfth year of Adrian, in which year the *afterward* celebrated interpreter Aquila for the first time became known or conspicuous.

Accordingly, that such is the real sense of the passage, is clear from the subsequent context.

Epiphanius tells us : that *Adrian, having engaged THE ABOVE MENTIONED INTERPRETER Aquila, appointed him his master of the works at Elia*. And then he goes on to relate : how, *after*

this time of his engagement, Aquila became successively a Christian and a Jew, and how *finally* he gained his *anticipated* name of an INTERPRETER by his translation of the Old Testament.

Hence it is evident: that Epiphanius, *by anticipation*, calls Aquila an INTERPRETER *previous* even to his conversion to Christianity, and therefore much more *previous* to his actually undertaking the task of his INTERPRETATION.

And hence, consequently, it is evident: that *The chronological statement of Epiphanius is wholly insufficient to establish Dr. Priestley's necessary premises of the translation of Aquila having been made in the twelfth year of Adrian.*

II. Still, however, it will naturally and reasonably be asked: What Epiphanius could mean, by so peculiarly stating; that, in the twelfth year of Adrian, Aquila became known.

1. Bishop Horsley thinks: that *Aquila then became known, because Aquila then was appointed to so considerable an office as that of overseer of the public works at Elia.* Remarks on Priestley's second Letters, part ii. chap. 2. p. 372.

I regret, that I cannot follow the learned Prelate in this solution.

A temple, it is true, had been built and dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, anterior to the breaking out of the Jewish rebellion, and in truth mainly producing that rebellion. But the appointment of Aquila, as Epiphanius distinctly states, was to superintend the rebuilding of the city, including most probably the reparation and restoration of the temple of Jupiter: and the rebuilding of the city was not determined upon, nor was a superintendant for that purpose appointed, until the year 137 or the twentieth year of Adrian, when now the Jewish rebellion had been quelled and every observer of the Ceremonial Law had been banished.

Hence I perceive not, how Adrian could have appointed Aquila his master of the works at Elia in his twelfth year or in the year 129.

2. Rejecting, then, on this point, the supposition of Bishop

Horsley, I would offer, in its place, a solution, which perhaps may be recommended by its very simplicity.

To so considerable an office as that of his master of the works at Elia, we can scarcely suppose, that Adrian would have appointed an unknown and obscure stranger.

Hence it may be fairly presumed : that, instead of *first* becoming known by his appointment to office at Elia, Aquila was *already*, at the time of his appointment, well known, both to the Emperor and to the Public, as a tried and experienced civil engineer.

Now I apprehend Epiphanius to state : that, in the way of his profession, Aquila *first* became known to Adrian in his twelfth year or in the year 129 ; and that, *in consequence* of his thus having become known to him as an able architect, the Emperor, in his twentieth year or in the year 137, that is to say, *after* an acquaintance and trial of full eight years, at length appointed him to the superintendence of the works at Elia.

Have we, then, any reasonable presumption, beyond mere vague general conjecture : that *Aquila first became known to the Emperor, precisely in his twelfth year, rather than in any other year, as an able and intelligent engineer ?*

I conceive : that we have a *very* reasonable presumption for the accuracy of such an opinion.

Since Epiphanius specially pitches upon the *twelfth* year of Adrian or the year 129 for the circumstance of Aquila first becoming known, we are obviously led to inquire what were the transactions of that *particular* year.

Now the transactions, somewhat curiously, turn out to be exactly such as to substantiate the opinion.

In the year 129 or in the twelfth year of Adrian, the cities of Nicomedia and Cesarèa and Nice in Bithynia, having been overthrown by an earthquake, were, by Adrian, ordered to be rebuilt at his own expence : on which account and occasion, he was styled *The restorer of Bithynia*. For the superintendence of these works, various officers, with various gradations of rank and authority, must of course have been employed : and

here, in Bithynia, if I mistake not, Aquila first became known to Adrian as a man of trust and talents in his own profession.

It will be asked: *Why, in the wide extent of the Roman Empire, should we suppose, merely from the circumstance of the rebuilding of the cities of Nicomedia and Nice and Cesarèa, that Aquila became known in Bithynia rather than in any other province?*

I reply: that Aquila *himself* was of Sinopè in Pontus: a city in the immediate vicinity of Bithynia. Hence, when civil engineers were required for the works at Nicomedia and Nice and Cesarèa, he would naturally, *close at hand*, find employment in the rebuilding of those cities: and, there having made himself known as an able architect, and having given satisfaction to the Emperor in a subordinate capacity though still in the precise department of rebuilding ruined cities; he was at length, eight years afterward, appointed by his patron to the superintendence of the works at Elia.

By such an arrangement, the whole narrative of Epiphanius will stand out perfectly clear and consistent.

Aquila became known, in the twelfth year of Adrian or in the year 129, by the circumstance of his being employed and giving satisfaction as a public officer in Bithynia: and in consequence of his thus becoming known, he was appointed to superintend the works at Elia in the twentieth year of Adrian or in the year 137.

III. There is one more point in the chronology of Epiphanius, which may seem to require some notice.

In accordance with the well known circumstance, that *Adrian commanded Jerusalem to be rebuilt in the year 137 after the rebellion of the Jews had been finally quelled in the year 136*, I have placed, in the year 137, his visit to Jerusalem and his appointment of Aquila to superintend the works at that city.

Yet Epiphanius speaks of his *thus* visiting Jerusalem, and of his *there* appointing Aquila to the office of master-engineer, in the *forty seventh* year after the desolation of Jerusalem by Titus. Epiph. de Pond. et Mens. Oper. p. 302.

Now the forty seventh year after the desolation of Jerusalem by Titus coincides, not with the year 137, but with the year 117 : because Jerusalem was desolated by Titus in the year 70.

Hence the chronology of Epiphanius seems again to be thrown into confusion and perplexity.

1. After fully considering the matter to the best of my abilities, I have no hesitation in saying : that the text of Epiphanius must here inevitably be corrupt.

Instead of *the FORTY SEVENTH year after the desolation of Jerusalem by Titus*, we ought, in the present passage, to read *the SIXTY SEVENTH year after the desolation of Jerusalem by Titus* : the error of FORTY SEVENTH, in the place of SIXTY SEVENTH, having been produced by the carelessness of some ancient transcriber.

2. My reasons for this opinion are the following.

(1.) If the Emperor Adrian visited Jerusalem in the *forty seventh* year after its desolation by Titus or in the year 117, and if at that same time he appointed Aquila his master of the works there : Aquila must have become known at least as early as the year 117.

But Epiphanius himself tells us : that Aquila did not become known until the twelfth year of Adrian or the year 129.

Hence, if we retain the reading FORTY SEVENTH, we shall exhibit Epiphanius as directly contradicting himself.

(2.) The reading FORTY SEVENTH makes Adrian to have visited Jerusalem, as the *then reigning* Emperor of the Romans, in the year 117.

But Adrian *never* visited Jerusalem in the year 117 : *nor* had he, at that time, become Emperor.

For he did not succeed Trajan until the year 118 : and, in his various progresses through the Empire, he did not, even for the *first* time, visit Palestine, until the year 131.

Therefore, clearly, the reading FORTY SEVENTH cannot but be spurious.

(3.) At the time when Adrian *finally* visited Jerusalem and

appointed Aquila to superintend the rebuilding of it, he was, according to Epiphanius, labouring under an incurable disorder, and vainly travelling in quest of a restoration to health.

The Emperor, he tells us, had, without success, called in the whole body medical throughout his Empire. Whereupon, finding himself no way benefited by the advice of his physicians, he peevishly wrote an objurgatory letter against the very science of Medicine: and then set out upon his wonted travels, in hopes of improving his health by change of air and amusement and occupation and locomotion. With this object, he first sailed to Egypt. Next he went to Antioch. Then he passed through Cœlo-Syria and Phenicia. And then he came into Palestine, which is also called *Judæa*. Here he went up to Jerusalem: and, finding it in a ruined condition, he gave orders for its reëdification under the name of *Elia*, and appointed Aquila to be his master of the works. Epiph. de Pond. et Mens. Oper. p. 302.

Now all these matters perfectly correspond with the year 137: but, as they correspond not with any *other* year save *that* year in particular, so, more especially, it is *plainly impossible* that they should correspond with the year 117.

In the year 136, Adrian, now an old man though always a man of remarkably active habits, fell into a very infirm state of health: in the year 137, we know him to have ordered Jerusalem to be rebuilt: in the course of the same year 137, he retired to Tibur or Tivoli, where his disease increased, instead of abating: and, on the tenth day of July in the year 138, he died.

If, then, we combine these several known matters with the narrative of Epiphanius, there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt: that Adrian's *final* visit to Jerusalem ought to be placed in the year 137; and, consequently, that the reading SIXTY SEVENTH ought to be substituted for the present reading FORTY SEVENTH.

(4.) As we are led to this result by the necessity of evidence

both circumstantial and chronological, so the very form of the erroneous reading itself points out the original genuine reading.

The erroneous reading stands, not *Forty* SIXTH or *Forty* EIGHTH or *Forty* NINTH, but precisely *Forty* SEVENTH.

Hence it indicates : that the chronological designation of the year *intended* terminates in SEVENTH, not in SIXTH or in EIGHTH or in NINTH.

That *that* year cannot be *the* FORTY *seventh*, we have very plainly seen : that it was *the* SIXTY *seventh*, we have every reason to believe.

The SEVENTH, then, remains ; a portion of the genuine reading *itself*, and a clue to the *other* portion of the genuine reading : while the adjunct FORTY alone requires correction.

Accordingly, when FORTY SEVENTH is corrected to SIXTY SEVENTH, the date is reconciled to facts : and thus the whole becomes reasonable and harmonious.

3. On these grounds, I believe Epiphanius to have really written : not that *The Emperor Adrian, while labouring under an incurable disorder, visited Jerusalem, in the* FORTY SEVENTH *year after its desolation by Titus, or in the year 117 ; but that* *The Emperor Adrian, while labouring under an incurable disorder, visited Jerusalem, in the* SIXTY SEVENTH *year after its desolation by Titus, or in the year 137.*

The former date brings out an impossibility : the latter date harmonises, both with recorded facts, and with general chronology.

END OF VOL. I.

